

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF
SCHEDULED CASTES : A CASE STUDY
OF THREE GRAM PANCHAYAT
ELECTIONS 1994, IN HARYANA**

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled, "POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES : A CASE STUDY OF THREE GRAM PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS 1994, IN HARYANA", which is being submitted by NARENDER KUMAR for the award of Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is his original work and may be placed before the examiner for evaluation. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this university or of any other university

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DEDICATED
TO
MY PARENTS

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Narender Kumar

PREFACE

The present study focuses on the Political Participation of the Scheduled Castes (SCs) in the village Panchayat elections. The SCs being part and parcel of our society do participate in the elections at the village level. This research work is based on the data collected during field work. An attempt has been made to look into the perceptions of the SCs towards the Gram Panchayats in particular and Panchayati Raj in general. Being an empirical study, it is based on the techniques of questionnaire, interview and survey notes etc.. One Hundred respondents were selected from the SC households in three Gram Panchayats namely Hat, Babail and Bal Ranghran of three different districts in Haryana. Out of these three villages, Hat village Sarpanchship is unreserved and Babail has reserved lady Sarpanch seat, belonging to the general caste, whereas Bal Ranghran Sarpanch seat is reserved for the SC women under the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act 1994. The Panchayat elections held in December 1994 have been studied. The data and other related informations were collected from primary and secondary sources. The questionnaire technique was used to collect information about the age, profession, educational status, political mobilisation, role of caste in Panchayat elections, political affiliation, responses to caste-politics and developmental works at the village level, etc. of the SCs.

The SC sarpanch and panches were interviewed and information was collected on the emerging pattern of the SC leadership in GPs. In this study chapter 1 has an introduction to the study,

which is related to the structural, operational and other relevant facets of Panchayati Raj. There are references of Panchayati Raj from the ancient times to the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, with a special reference to Haryana. The competing views of different national leaders have also been discussed. Chapter 2 is devoted to Haryana profile and the background of the districts and the selected villages. Chapter 3 deals with the "Socio-economic conditions of the SCs in the selected Gram Panchayats". The impact of socio-economic programmes launched by the Government to eradicate the poverty of the SCs have also been discussed. Chapter 4 deals with the "Political Participation of the SC voters in the selected GPs" The data was collected from the field on the participation of SC voters in the electoral process. The trends in SCs voting behaviour, political socialisation, casteism in politics have also been analysed. Chapter 5 deals with the "Political Leadership among the SCs in the selected Gram Panchayats". Here the economic conditions, educational status and gender distinctions among the SC leaders have been discussed. This chapter is basically devoted to the emerging pattern of leadership among the SCs after the new Panchayati Raj Act. The impact of political participation on the social conditions of SCs has been discussed in the Chapter 6 entitled "Political Participation and Social Change among the SCs".

It was found that political consciousness accelerates the feasibility of secular politics. It was observed that caste, of course, is a significant factor in village Panchayats but person

ality of the candidate has a greater impact on the political choices. The political parties were not involved in the Gram Panchayat elections. It was found that Panchayat representatives are not very much interested in the development of their castes and lack unity among themselves. The representatives get benefits at the personal level not at the community level. Thus in spite of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, there are loopholes in the PRIs. Moreover Haryana Panchayati Raj Act 1994, has not done away with bureaucratic control for the benefit of the vulnerable sections of the society.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BC	Backward Caste
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
GP	Gram Panchayat
HVP	Haryana Vikas Party
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
PR	Panchayati Raj
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institution
PS	Panchayat Samiti
SC	Scheduled Caste
SP	Samta Party
ST	Scheduled Tribe
ZP	Zila Parishad

Political Participation-An Introduction

All political systems claim to be democratic in one or the other sense of the term. Democracy implies a sense of participation in politics and Panchayat politics signifies people's participation at the grass-roots level which leads to local self-government or Panchayati Raj.

The involvement of the masses gives strength to the political system of a country. Taking a comprehensive view of political participation, Myron Weiner observes "any voluntary action, successful or unsuccessful, episodic or continuous employing legitimate or illegitimate methods intended to influence the choice of public policies, the administration of public affairs or the choice of political leaders at any level of government local or national"[1] may be included in political activities.

Panchayats have been in existence for centuries in India. But their formation was led from the social point of view and participation restricted for some sections of society; whereas the Panchayats in modern India are political institutions that give rise to direct political participation. Political activities make political participation in a democracy more congruent, having immense impact on the common villagers and also decisional outcomes

1. Myron Weiner, "Political Participation : Crisis of Political Process" in (ed) Leonard Binder, Crisis And Sequence In Political Development, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1971, P.212

of the power-holders. Thus political participation includes the " activities by private citizen that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take." [2] The level of political participation of citizens characterizes the development of a polity.

The forms and stimulus for participation differ from system to system. In a totalitarian system peoples's participation exists, but its remote control remains in the grip of rulers. In the erstwhile Soviet Union, citizens had the right to participate in elections but voting wasn't compulsory as it has been once upon a time in Austria and Switzerland. In contrast to this phenomenon in liberal democracies the role of the people isn't decided by the government but by the citizens themselves. India has a parliamentary form of government which has been borrowed from the West, and it makes the citizens more responsible by their active role in the democratic functioning of the country. The Indian polity is federal in structure and unitary in form which subsequently makes it a mixture of these two. It differs from the Western model of political process and institutions. The differences at the level of parliamentary elections, State Assembly elections and local elections are also reflected in the political participation

2. Nie & Verba, "Participation In America" : Political Democracy And Social Equality, Harper Row Publications. New Delhi, 1972 p.2

of citizens in India.

Participation in politics isn't an isolated phenomenon. The social and economic factors have a great impact on the nature of political participation in the country. The political participation of untouchables as it existed earlier and the way it is reflected amongst present day Scheduled Castes (SCs) differs from the other dominant castes. Since they constitute a major chunk of Indian populace, their participation in the political process cannot be ignored. The socio-economic conditions of this group is sunk in poverty and gives their nature of response to the political institutions a distinct character. Their nature of political participation is also different like any other group of Indian society, may be at the national, state or grass-roots level.

The implementation of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, has given a new lease of life to Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). The reservation of seats for SC males and females at each level in the three-tier Panchayati Raj System is expected to take the parliamentary democracy at the local level. The participation of the SCs in the Panchayats develops leadership among them, which would make SC members shareholders in India's decision-making process.

This study is aimed at discussing the political participation of SCs in the Gram Panchayat (GP) elections of three villages in three different districts of Haryana State. The elections to the GPs were held in December 1994,

according to the provisions of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992. Here an attempt has been made to understand the GP politics and the political participation of SCs as voters as well as leaders. Hence it will give an understanding of the response of SC leaders and voters to the 73rd constitutional Amendment Act. The socio-economic conditions of the SC voters, their voting behaviour, political socialisation, perceptions towards GPs and role of caste in GP politics have been examined thoroughly. The pattern of leadership among SCs at the GP level also forms the part of the study. Finally the investigations also throw light on social change as a result of political participation which becomes a major theme.

Methodology

Our study attempts to find out whether there is a relationship between political participation and social, economic and political position of the SCs in Panchayat politics. The research has been carried out on the basis of field work in three village Panchayats (GPs)-**Hat, Babail and Bal Ranghran** in three districts namely Jind, Panipat and Karnal of Haryana. The SC communities selected for the purpose are **Chamars, Balmikis Dhanaks and Sansis**, who are in majority in these villages as well as in the State. A sample of 100 SC households was selected from the three selected villages (The Questionnaire and Interview attached in the appendix). The villages have been selected taking into consideration the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 that has reserved seats for the Women and the SCs. The Hat

village Panchayat Sarpanchship is neither reserved for SCs nor for general caste women, whereas Babail is reserved for general caste women and Bal Ranghran is reserved for SC women. Thus the selected villages have the representation of SCs, general caste man and general caste women.

Dependent Variables

Dependent variables include different political actions of respondents participation ranging from passive to activist items so that the whole gamut of political actions are taken in. This study discusses participation in campaign activities, attending Panchayat meetings, political consciousness and party preferences of the SC voters.

Campaigning

In order to test the common belief that SCs are not politically conscious or aware and don't take part in the campaign activities in the Panchayat elections, a question was asked in order to collect their views "Did you campaign for any candidate?". The responses provided were codified and analysed.

Attending Panchayat Meetings

There is a notion that the SCs do not have interest in attending the Panchayat meetings because of their low social status and economic handicap. To test this hypothesis a question was asked, "Do you participate in the Panchyat meetings?". The responses were collected from 100 households and then codified and analysed.

Party Preferences

There is a common assumption that the SCs have lack

of interest in the party politics and are biased in their attitude towards political parties. To verify this hypothesis the questions like, "Should political parties participate in the Panchayat elections?". If Yes, Why?. "In your opinion which party should form the government?." were asked.

Political Consciousness

Political consciousness does not develop in vacuum. It is realised in the course of time and through participation in the political activities. To assess the political consciousness of the SCs, questions like, "Did you vote in the last election?," "Did you contest or hope to contest?," "Whom did you vote?," "Was he elected or got defeated?," "Did you cast your vote according to your conscience or by persuasion of family members?," "Do you think that Panchayat election is meaningful for the development of village?," etc. were asked and responses were codified and analysed.

Independent Variables

This study examines six independent variables. These variables include (1) Age, (2) Education, (3) Occupation, (4) Land Property, (5) Annual Income, (6) Political Communication .

(1) Age

Age of a person is an important factor to make him/her to take interest in the political affairs. There could be a variation in the involvement at political level among different age groups, which needs to be tested. The division

has been made, on the basis of age for the convenience to arrive at the conclusion, which are : 18-25, 25-35, 35-45, 45-55, 55 and above.

(2) Education:

Education is an important variable in the development of an individual personality and to understand his/her surroundings in a rational manner. Education being one of the ingredients of socialization imparts political understanding. It is a well known fact that the SCs are educationally backward and this backwardness makes them handicap in understanding the political complexities. This study analyses the relationship between education and political participation. The respondents' educational level was collected in terms of categories like illiterates, educated upto middle standard and higher educations.

3. Occupation:

The post-independence period has seen a great change in the occupational profile of individuals. And the change of traditional occupation to new occupation may lead to socio-economic development and socio-economic development has links with political participation. The political participation also brings change in profession and the social relations. To study the impact of present occupation on electoral politics, the categories have been made like, Government-servent, Wage-earner, Bussinesman and the Traditional occupation holder.

(4) Property in land

Rural people are primarily engaged in the agricultural

activities. Landholding determines the 'social status' of a person. There is a great relationship between social status and political activities. We have to analyse the relationship between social status and political activity. In the villages of Haryana there are very few villages that have landowning SCs, still information was collected for this purpose also. We have selected four categories :- 1 acre, 2 acres to 5 acres, 6 acres to 10 acres, 11 acres and above.

(5) Annual Income

In Haryana land reforms have not been implemented, so the SCs don't possess land. To know the income of the respondents, the information on annual income has been collected. Income is indicator of social status. The poor individuals cannot be expected to be active in politics because of their low level of income and their continuous struggle for bread and butter. The voters as well as leaders' level of income have been shown in the five categories - Up to 5000/-, 5001/- to 10000/-, 10001/- to 15000/-, 15001/- to 20000/- and 20001/- and above.

(6) Communication

The impact of mass media on the voters is well known factor in the political participation process. Political communication involves two persons, one is the sender of the message and the other is the receiver of it. The socio-political context of a particular communication and its verbal expression explores the meaning given to the communication by the persons involved i.e. sender of the

message and receiver of the message. David V.J. Bell* points out that communication, in short, is a widely diverse social phenomenon that often produces quite unpredictable results. The mass media like Newspapers, Radio, Television etc. opens the doors for interaction among various sections, social and political groups. Political communication brings the social problems in the light and creates a healthy atmosphere to find out the solutions for the same. So to examine the relationship between the communication network and the level of political participation of SC voters questions were asked such as, "Do you read newspaper?, Do you listen radio/watch T.V.?, What do you think are the problems facing the country?" etc.

Panchayati Raj in India

The establishment of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) is one of the major forms of democratic decentralization. Genuine decentralisation involves a significant measure of either decentralization or devolution i.e. conferring of real powers on local authorities. "Thus the pattern of decentralization in India involves both the delegation or decentralization and devolution or transfer of political and administrative powers." [3]

The institutional expression of democratic decentralisation

* David V.J. Bell, Power, Influence & Authority - An Essay In Political Linguistics
Oxford University Press, New York, 1975, P.11
3. B.R. Mehta Committee Report, 1958, P.1

being identified with Panchayati Raj in India, can be understood in the light of the prevailing social, economic and political conditions which determine the purpose and pattern of democratic process.

Panchayat is a very ancient institution in India. In the ancient period, the little village republics were governed by their Panchayats. It is believed that "King Prithu first time introduced the system while colonising the Doab region between Ganges and Jamuna"^[4] A description of these rural communities is also found in the Arthashastra of Kautilya who lived in 400 B.C. An account of village commonwealth is also found in Sukracharya's Nitisara. "In fact the village in India has been looked upon as the basic unit of administration since the earliest Vedic times..."^[5]

In modern times during British period from the Montague Chelmsford reforms, 1919 to 1940, there had been a spate of legislations relating to the establishment of village Panchayats, covering a major part of the country including the princely states. The British Government adopted the policy of carrying the local government and administration through the officials of different departments of the provincial government posted at district level.

The concept of Panchayati Raj since its inception faced

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4. Shriman Narayan, "The Panchayati Raj System of India" in (ed) B.N. Verma, Indian Government And Politics Vishal Publications, Delhi. 1974, p.810
 5. Ibid

various interpretations from its protagonists and antagonists. On the one hand, the emphasis was on maximum local autonomy and maximization of supervision and control by the higher authorities especially the state government, and on the other hand, some considered it to be ruination of country. In this context three modern Indian thinkers - Gandhi, Ambedker and Jay Prakash Narayan have expressed their views.

The Gandhian Concept

The advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the National scene gave a strength to the autonomous rural organisations which he derived to model on the lines of Panchayat system as it prevailed in ancient India. He envisaged a five-tier system of Panchayats -- Village Panchyats, Taluk Panchayats, District Panchayats, Provincial Panchayats and All India Panchayats. He opined that higher Panchayat shall tender sound advice, give expert guidance and information, supervision and co-ordinate the activities of village panchayats for increasing the efficiency of the administration and public service. The village panchayat was to dictate to the centre and village was to be the real and moving unit of administration. He said, " The greater the power of the panchayats, the better for the people. [6]

Ambedker on Panchayati Raj

Dr. Ambedkar had a contradictory view of Panchayati

6. Harijan,

21 December, 1947

Raj as compared to Mr. Gandhi. He spoke clearly and unequivocally condemning the Village Panchayats as "a sink of localism and den of ignorance and narrow-mindedness and communalism". [7] Caste being the pre-dominant factor in the affairs of village, he opined that the village republics spelled ruination for the country and played no part in the affairs and destiny of the country.

Socialists on Panchayati Raj

Jay Prakash Narayan was a great believer in socialist ideas. He opined that the success of Panchayati Raj was dependent upon the extent to which political parties were away from intervening in PR bodies. He said "self-government through faction fighting will not be self-government but self-ruination." [8]

Jawahar Lal Nehru also opined that the elections to Panchayats should be unanimous and there should be two types of Panchayats, those elected unanimously should have more powers than those elected by the majority votes.

Thus the lack of unanimity among tall leaders over the Panchayati Raj system in independent India, the makers of the Constitution of India have to include it in the Directive Principles of State Policy (unjusticiable) under the article 40 which says.

"The State shall take steps to organise village

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7. Quoted by S.N.Mishra And Sweta Mishra, "Future of Panchayati Raj After 73rd Constitutional Amendment" Kurukshetra April 1995, P.27
8. Ibid

Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government"

During the first Five Year Plan the idea of PRIs gained impetus. The notion of active participation and involvement of people in the plan process remained a myth. The second Five Year Plan proposed to cover the entire country under the National Extension Service block through the institutions of Block Development Officers, (BDOs) Assistant Development Officers (ADOs), village level workers, in addition to the nominated representatives of the village Panchayats of that area and some other popular organisations like co-operative societies. These programmes were viewed basically as "peoples's programmes with government participation" not as "government's programmes with people's participation."

INDIAN STATE'S EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN PRIs

Balwant Rai Mehta Committee Report

After the unsatisfactory results of the National Extension Service scheme the government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Balwant Rai Mehta in 1957 to study the whole problem and suggest ways and means for implementing the Panchayati Raj on some uniform lines throughout the country. The major features of the recommendations were the establishment of GP at the village level, the PS at the block level and the ZP at the district level and the linkages between them. The elections

were to be held on indirect basis. These recommendations came into effect on April 1, 1958 and the state of Rajasthan was first to introduce PR system on Oct. 2, 1959, and the State of Andhra Pradesh was next in the process.

The Mehta Study Team realising the importance of popular participation recommended creation of institutions which were to be statutory, elective, comprehensive in duties and functions, equipped with necessary executive machinery, with adequate resources and with enough autonomy and freedom. "The creation of the Panchayat Raj in 1959, with the object of entrusting the authority and responsibility for rural development to rural people was hailed not only as an innovation but also as a revolution." [9]

The report suggested PRIs to perform three major tasks viz., developmental, administrative and political, where greater importance was given to developmental tasks. The non-devolution of own sources of revenue proved to be the greatest stumbling block in the performance of these assigned tasks. This led to a mounting pressure on district level bureaucracy and ultimately it led to hostile attitude of bureaucracy towards grass-roots institutions. The M.L.A.s and M.P.s started looking at PRIs representatives as political rivals. At the same time it helped in narrowing the gap between bureaucracy and the people.

Ashok Mehta Committee Report

The decline of the PRIs in late 60s and in the beginning

9. Henry Meddi, Panchayati Raj --- A Study of Rural Local Government In India Longman, London 1970. P.3

of 70s led to the formation of Ashok Mehta Committee. This Committee's report was essentially a departure from the B.R. Mehta Committee's recommendations. The committee recommended a two-tier structure-Zila Parishad (ZP) at the district level and Mandal Panchayat for a group of villages with a population of 20,000 to 30,000 persons.

The district was to be the first point of decentralisation under popular supervision below the state level and favoured the official participation of political parties at all the levels of Panchayat elections. Seats were to be reserved for the SCs/STs in proportion to their population. The state governments were not having the absolute power to supersede PRIs on political grounds and it was recommended that in case the institution was superseded, elections were to take place within six months.

It is felt that the committee perceived the approach to Panchayati Raj in narrow terms. It gave an impression that Panchayati Raj is more an administrative contrivance whose justification lies only in terms of rural development. It might have been more secular if PRIs or rural local governments were regarded like its counterparts at the state and the central level as a system of government having a measure of autonomy in the matters of functioning and existing in its own right. "The Committee's is a too closely focussed definition of rural local government and it made to be liberalised and made more open ended." [10]

10. S.R. Maheshwari, " Panchayati Raj Between Two Mehtas And Beyond" Panchayat Sandesh, Vol.10 No.10-11;

Jan. -Feb.1979,

P.12

Recommendations along the same lines were made by the G.V.K Rao Committee in 1985 and the L.M. Singhvi Committee in 1987, as also the Chief Ministers' conference on Panchayats held in May 1989. The Government of India brought in the Constitution (64th Amendment) Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on 10 August, 1989. This was a comprehensive Bill covering all vital aspects of PRIs which were ignored till date, but it couldn't be passed in the Rajya Sabha, so this couldn't be worked out. In 1990, the fresh initiative was taken by the Janata Dal government to strengthen the PRIs. It was brought before the conference of Chief Ministers, held in June 1990, presided over by the then Prime Minister. The conference endorsed the proposals for the introduction of a fresh Constitutional Amendment Bill. The Constitutional Amendment Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 7 September, 1990. This Bill, however, was not even taken up for consideration.

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992

The concept of Panchayati Raj has come to be accepted as an extension of democracy upto the village. It is obvious that mere exercise of the right to elect representatives to the central and state legislatures is not enough for the ordinary citizens. Thus the concept of 'Participation of the people' has been considered as an ideological and structural measure to give legitimacy to peoples' participation in this Act.

To make PRIs more meaningful and the power exercisable by the people at the grass-root level the 73rd

Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 was passed by the Lok Sabha on 22 December, 1992 and by the Rajya Sabha on 23rd December, 1992. Seventeen states ratified the Act in a record time. The President of India accorded his assent on 20 April, 1993 and the Act came into effect on 24 April, 1993.

The salient features of this Act include establishment of three-tiers of Panchayats as units of local self-government. There is a provision for 'direct elections at every level' which is a significant departure from the earlier provisions. There are to be two commissions--State Election Commission and State Finance Commission. There is reservation of seat for SCs and STs at every level in proportion to their population. There are provisions for women representation at every level. Their proportion has to be 1/3rd of the male representatives. The reservation has also been provided to BCs as well. The term of office of Panchayat at every level shall be for four years, if it is dissolved earlier or on expiry of the term, elections are to be held within six months from the date of dissolution or expiry. The state legislatures have been given the power to authorise the Panchayats to levy, collect and appropriate suitable local taxes and also provide for making grants-in-aid to the panchayat from the consolidated fund of the concerned state. The state legislatures have been asked to bring necessary amendment to their Panchayat Acts within one year from the commencement of the Act as to conform to the provisions contained in the Constitution.

Panchayat Finances

Panchayat finances impinge upon the local resources of the panchayats, grants and schemes, funds and additional resource mobilisation which are to be institutionalised on prudent financial lines. The state governments have been asked to authorise a Panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees, to provide grants from consolidated fund of the state and also to provide for constitution of such funds for crediting all money received by or on behalf of Panchayats and also for the withdrawal of such money therefrom as specified in the law. There is a clear shift towards imparting greater autonomy in matters of decision-making and increasing proportion of rural development expenditure by PRIs.

Panchyati Raj in Haryana

Panchayats being part and parcel of Indian society had its existence in Haryana also in the pre-British days. This body was called "Bhaichara Panchayat." Haryana being a part of Punjab before 1966 witnessed first Panchayati Raj System in the form of the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952. Again in 1961 Punjab Samiti and Zila Parishad Act 1961 was adopted to further democratise the local bodies. The 1961 Act was adopted in accordance with the Balwant Rai Mehta model of decentralisation. After 1966 there was gradual but insignificant progress of the PRIs in Haryana. The elections weren't held regularly and there was a heavy hand over their supervision by the state government. The Maru Singh Ad-hoc

weren't held regularly and there was a heavy hand over their supervision by the state government. The Maru Singh Ad-hoc Committee on Panchayati Raj (1972) recommended the abolition of ZP, one of the major pillars of decentralisation. Critics argue that "it was the growing political jealousy between State legislators and Zila Parishad members which was the main reason for the abolition of the Zila Parishad"[11] Between 1973-1974 Haryana had two-tier Panchayati Raj System but adoption of Haryana Panchayati Raj Act 1994, again gave the way for the establishment of three-tier PR system in the State.

Haryana Panchyati Raj Act, 1994

In the light of the Haryana Panchyati Raj Act, 1994, the PRIs would perform developmental, regulatory and general administrative functions. Several committees and Sub-committees would be constituted at all levels. The Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994, has conformed to the rules and regulations of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 and utilised the powers bestowed upon the states in the Act. The salient features of the legislation include a three-tier system of Panchayati Raj, direct election of sarpanch at GP level, maintaining the organic link between different tiers of PRIs with the lower body getting representation in the next higher tier, reservation for the SCs on the basis of population at all the three levels and one seat at each level is reserved for BCs on the same lines.

Under the Act, the PRIs would perform all the developmental functions as given in the 11th Schedule of the

Constitution. The Act has demarcated 29 Subjects for PRIs but not specified clearly how many subjects in 11th Schedule are to be given to the uppermost tier. Section 214 of the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act states that District Planning Committee constituted under Haryana Municipal Act, 1973 will consolidate the plans prepared by the three tiers and will also prepare a draft development plan for the district as a whole.

Under the new act, the PRIs have been entrusted with the control and inspection of the schemes and programmes launched by Food & Supplies, Welfare of SCs and BCs, Public Health, Forests, Social Defence and Security, Education, Irrigation, Women & Child Development, Animal Husbandary, Power, Agriculture and Horticulture Departments; and schemes of Rural Development and Panchayat departments. These institutions are also responsible for implementing community development, revenue earning, Haryana Rural Development Fund and Matching grants schemes. Schemes specially for the development of SCs have also been asked to implement viz. Harizan Basti improvement scheme, distribution of scholarships to the SCs students and rehabilitation and training of scavengers under the Welfare of SCs and BCs Department.

Organisational Structure of PRIs

Gram Panchayat

The Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 make a provision for the formation of a GP at the village level comprising of (1) a Sarpanch, (2) an Up-Sarpanch, and (3) six to twenty

Panches depending upon the conditions. The sarpanch and the panches are to be elected by the GS (comprising of all adult voters of the village) and the Up-Sarpanch is selected by the Panches from among themselves. The Panchayat area is divided into 'wards' and seats are reserved for the SCs in accordance with their population and one-third of the seats have been reserved for Women and also, one seat is reserved for BC person, if their population is two or more than two percent in a 'ward', where they are in maximum number. The system of rotation of seats has been adopted which means higher the population of reserved seat persons, first the number of the seat to be reserved.

The meeting of the GP is to be held once in two months and is open for the public. In normal conditions the Sarpanch presides over the meetings but in his absence the Up-Sarpanch takes the seat. Every GP or group of GPs are to be assisted by a Secretary who is the State Government employee. If a GP consists of more than one village then it will have a local committee comprising of a panch of the village concerned and appointed members from among GS members. One member has to be there of the SC community in the Social Justice Committee.

The Sarpanch could be removed from his office by two-third GS members in a meeting but this meeting has to be attended by half of the members and two-third panches are to convene for such a meeting. As Up-Sarpanch is selected among the Panches so he could be removed by two-third Panches in a no-confidence motion which has to be presented on the

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request of half of the Panches.

Every GP has Gram Fund for carrying out the duties and obligations entrusted upon it. GP has to prepare a report of works done in the previous year and to produce it to the prescribed authority and to PS concerned. The GP has to convene GS meetings twice in a year, which have to be attended by one-tenth of the Sabha members, thus making it more participatory.

Panchyat Samiti

The PS is at the block level and it is composed of :-

- (1) Directly elected members
- (2) MLAs representing constituencies, either wholly or partially in the PS.
- (3) One-fifth of the total number of seats are filled by sarpanches of GPs coming under the PS.

The number of directly elected members shall not be less than 10 or more than 30. If a PS area has a population of upto 40,000 persons, there, one member will represent every 4,000 persons and in case PS area has more than 40,000 population, here one member could be elected for 5,000 persons but the directly elected members cannot exceed more than thirty.

The MLAs have the power to vote in the decision-making but not the concerned MP or MPs of the PS area.

The sarpanches represented in the PS would be rotated yearly so that all the sarpanches get representation in the term of Five years.

The Block Development and Panchayat Officer (BDPO) is

the Ex-officio member and the Executive-officer of the PS and he also acts as the secretary of various committees in the Samiti.

The Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the Samiti are elected from amongst the members by the members themselves and they may be ousted by them, if a resolution of their ouster is passed by two-third of the elected members.

Like GP meetings the PS meetings are to be held once in two months.

Zila Parishad

The ZP is the highest body of the PRIs at the district level.

Composition

- (1) The members directly elected from the 'wards' in the districts,
- (2) The chairpersons of all PSs in the district,
- (3) The MLAs and MP or MPs whose constituencies lie within the district or part thereof, and
- (4) A President and a Vice-President who shall be elected by and amongst the elected members of ZP.

The total number of elected members have to be between 10 and 30 and each member is represented by a population of 40,000 persons. Apart from reservation to SCs and Women one seat is reserved for BC member. The elected members have at least to be two-third or more of the total members of the ZP. The Chairperson can be removed by a resolution supported by two-third of the elected members of the ZP. But such resolution cannot be passed before the expiry of one year

from the date of his/her election. The meetings are to be held once in two months.

The Additional Deputy Commissioner (ADC) has been made the Chief-Executive Officer of the ZP. Every ZP has to have a Deputy Chief-Executive-cum-Secretary who will be amongst the District Development and Panchayat Officers. If government thinks, more officers may be employed by the District Rural Development Agency under ZP.

State Government And Bureaucratic Control Over the PRIs

Democratic decentralisation requires the people at the grass-root level to participate in the governing of the local affairs. Here the politics is extended to the lowest level which needs the break-down of the control by the State Government. The lack of autonomy to the PRIs led to the formation and implementation of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992, yet the "Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 has given tremendous powers to the State Government and the bureaucracy to control the functioning of the PRIs in the State". [12]

The following points make it clear :--

(1) The section 29(1) speaks that in case of a complaint against the village level employees, the GP can only enquire into the matter and its the Chief-Executive Officer or the Superior Officer can suspend them.

(2) The section 47(1) has a provision that the District Development and Panchayat Officer or Divisional Officer

12. Mahi Pal, "Centralised Decentralisation"
Haryana Panchayati Raj Act 1994
Economic & Political Weekly, July, 1994 P. 1842-1844

(Civil) may suspend the resolution or order passed by the GP.

(3) If GP has punished a person upto Rs 500, the aggrieved person can appeal to the Director, who has the final say (section 54)

(4) According to Section 41(1) GP can impose, certain taxes only if it has been approved by the Director.

(5) The judicial powers enjoyed by GPs in the earlier Panchayati Raj provisions have been abolished.

(6) The section 107 mentions that the government will advice, supervise and co-ordinate the functions of the PS and section 108 says that, any resolution passed by PS can be cancelled by the State Government.

(7) Above all the Director Panchayat or the Government can suspend the chairpersons or vice-chairpersons of PSs or ZPs in case of criminal offence against them.

Thus Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994, provides powers to government and bureaucracy to control the smooth functioning of PRIs giving a way for "centralised decentralisation". [13]

The people's representatives have to function under the shadow of the State apparatus. It may lead to the lack of interest among the rural masses for these institutions.

Caste Class Relations in Haryana

Generally it is accepted that caste and class are different forms of social stratification. Caste and class system stand for different patterns of distribution of

13. Ibid

properties of individuals in hereditary groups. These two systems can co-exist in an inverse relationship and the ideal typical forms of the caste and class systems constitute the opposite poles of caste-class continuum. This continuum refers to the rigidity - fluidity dimension of social stratification.^[14] Here one pole is that type which one might call absolutely closed, based entirely on inherited inequality and the other pole is that type which we might call absolutely open-based entirely on equality of opportunity. It is obviously, neither pole has ever been realised in practice, the polar opposites being ideal types. It is impossible to eliminate all competition for status, just as it is impossible to eliminate all ascription of status. Thus the stratified systems we find in human society are mixed types. They have both the caste element and the class element in them. But the system may approach one pole much more closely than another.

The problem of change in caste relations in India is quite complex. There are two types of hypothetical conceptions regarding it as follow (a) "mode of production hypothesis" and (b) caste resilience and adaptation hypothesis." The mode of production hypothesis refers to the transformation of caste society into class society under the impact of new economic forces like industrialization, urbanization etc. A.R. Desai (1969), a Marxist

14. V.S.D'Souza, "Caste And Class : A Reinterpretation" in Journal of Asian And African Studies Vol.II No.3-4, July And October 1967, P. 196

sociologist, says that caste system is a social manifestation of mode of production and ownership of property based on agrarian-feudal complex. So change in the economic structure may bring about a direct blow to other caste characteristics. On the other hand, Srinivas (1968) assumes that the nature of caste has undergone considerable changes to adapt itself in the new environment but caste characteristics have not changed. Beteille (1964) also supports Srinivas's view. But other sociologists assume that caste is gradually losing its original character and possessing class like features. Bailey 1963)

However, there are very few studies where both these aspects have been dealt, with proper emphasis. Most of the studies on caste are holistic in nature and these are inspired by the rigour of empiricism. These studies have ignored the dysfunctional aspect of the village system and particularly the role of feudalism and more specifically land-tenure system on the village people.

Another approach to study the caste system is class relationship. There are a few studies where caste as well as other dimension of stratification such as economic position, styles of life, educational, occupational and political statuses etc. have been considered, (Beteille, 1969). Anil Bhatt^[15] stated that a person who has a low status in caste

15. Anil Bhatt, Caste, Class And Politics

Manohar Book Depot, Delhi, 1975,

P.97

hierarchy also has a low status in hierarchies of society such as economic or political. One could know a great deal about an individual's socio-economic status by knowing his caste status." Andre Beteille (1967) observes the dynamic nature of the rural stratification system in Sripuram which, according to him has acquired much more complex nature. He states that the caste, class and power, which are characteristics of stratification system of traditional rural society in a cumulative fashion, have, now-a-days dispensed among the different groups in a non-cumulative manner. The change from cumulative to dispensed inequalities is the important feature of rural social stratification of the present day. His study explains that hierarchy of caste, class and power are independently noticeable in rural society. Now-a-days higher caste groups may not have higher rank in class and power hierarchies. Whereas the intermediate castes have improved their economic position and achieved higher position, the lower castes still remain in the lower economic and power position.

Bailey's (1963) findings in Orissa reflect that the caste which was superior as a land owning group was politically dominant and enjoyed high ritual status. In the past there was a considerable degree of coincidence between economic, political and ritual ranks of caste. Now land is a marketable commodity and is going in the hands of different caste groups and the traditional landowning class has considerably lost its economic power. Now-a-days structure of the caste hierarchy is rapidly changing and the

landownership does not go together with the caste hierarchy, and there are cleavages between caste and class, caste and power and class and power.

K.L.Sharma (1974) in his study in Rajasthan villages finds some changes between caste and class, caste and power and power and class. Though wealth is 'the' factor in determining higher status, it is not alone sufficient for gaining higher status. He says that the ex-zamindars who have lost their land have gone down in status hierarchy and the ex-tenant peasants who have accumulated considerable amount of land, since the time of the abolition of the Zamindari System, have raised their status. In rural areas the neo-rich peasantry is emerging as bourgeoisie. Some of the ex-zamindars have lost their former class status and came down in lower class position almost to the extent of what he calls the status of "proletariat." But the Banias who are richer than the Rajputs and Brahmins could not secure equivalent power and prestige.

According to him there is a close association between these changes and the traditionally higher castes and classes. The higher caste and class people are in more privileged position to acquire higher education, power and economic status due to their already secured high positions, and the lower caste and class people are not able to achieve higher status so ascription and achievement interplay in status determination and block the way of mobility.

The formation of Haryana brought emergence to some dominant castes. Numerically speaking the Jats stand first,

The formation of Haryana brought emergence to some dominant castes. Numerically speaking the Jats stand first, whereas the SCs have second number, but the dominance of Brahmins and Jats still remains. Jat is a landowning caste, and the land has made them stronger than other castes. Brahmins have influence in power position but in recent years their role has declined in influencing the power structure in comparison to Jats "Baniyas are among the higher castes while their ritual position is lower to Brahmins and Jats, but they occupy higher position in socio-economic hierarchy." [16]

The political representation of Jats is not much based on their high ritualistic image at social level but dominance in agriculture. The agrarian structure fairly corresponds with the caste and power structure, though perfect correspondence doesn't exist between them in terms of democratic institutions, adult franchise, universal education and linkage with state political dynamics. "The migrated Punjabis from Pakistan have their base in the political arena but their support is only in the urban areas as they had settled in the urban areas and enjoy a numerical strength in towns and cities." [17]

The reservation policy has enabled the SCs to come-up in the political sphere but very few members from low castes

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16. Bindu Vashishtha, Caste And Class Relations In Haryana
Unpublished Dissertation, CPS/SSS, JNU, New Delhi, 1982, P.126
17. B.L. Fadia, State Politics in India
Radical Publications, New Delhi, 1984 P.19

are in a position to take advantage of their rights. Infact many forms of untouchability remain universal throughout rural India. The fact that caste remains the major unit within which marriage and social relations take place, the fact that middle castes and landholding peasant castes are much better placed to take advantage of education, employment and government facilities--all of these meant that caste continues to have high co-relation with economic position.

An 'elite' class has emerged within the SCs because of reservations in Assembly, jobs, and now in PRIs, but their dependence on the other castes for support has not vanished. The Chamars within SCs have benifited a lot by reservation policy and that's why the State Government has divided the job reservations in the State for under-privileged within the SCs.

It justifies the observation made by Robert L. Hardgrave Jr. that castes are fundamental aspect of the social structure of India and the economic foundation upon which it is based, is a major pragmatic variable of the Indian political system. [18]

Hardgrave Jr's observation was substantiated by Gail Omvedtt (1977), according to whom caste system maintained under the dominance of capitalist mode of production is a very complex mixture of caste and class, a mixture that has

18. Robert L. Hardgrave Jr., "Caste, Class And Politics In Kerla", Political Science Review, Jaipur, 1964, P.12

tremendous regional variations. Not only do more 'feudal' and 'capitalist' forms of classes and caste relations mix, but castes also affect existence of classes and vice-versa, though now both exist on a separate basis.

The lower castes are improving their status as compared to the earlier times. The high ritual status doesn't mean high status in political field as Jats are politically powerful than the Brahmins and Banias who occupy top positions in socio-economic sphere inspite of their lower ritual status.

The formation of Haryana has generated class consciousness in the State because of deprivational feeling at the level of economic development and that was the major reason for its coming up as a separate state. The Green Revolution has brought in agricultural advancement and the conducive conditions for the industrial development have modernised the State at the economic level. The use of technological sophistication and existing manpower have contributed to it. The development of villages through roads and power supply have intermixed the people living in the rural and the urban areas. The dependence on monsoon for cultivation has declined because of rivers and tube-wells in the State. Although natural resources are in scarcity but Haryana has progressed and modernised using raw-material supplied from other places of the country. The competition exists on the basis of rural-urban areas, because in the villages the dominance implies in agriculture, and in the

cities, the industries are the basis of dominance. The landowning class is setting up industries in the urban localities by selling their lands or by using the land adjoining the cities. And it leads to the stiff competition between landowning class and the urban elites, depriving the lower classes' development at the same pace.

The Agrarian structure is rapidly changing under the forces of population growth, industrialization, urbanization and technological development. Planned efforts for creating egalitarian agrarian structure through land reforms and the other industrial reforms have not affected it desirably. [19]

The dependence of agricultural labour, in the rural India, on the land holders is a common phenomenon. Rudra A. pointing towards the relationship between two classes in Indian agriculture says that there are only two classes in Indian agriculture, one of which is termed as the class of big landholders and the other, the class of agricultural labourers. "These classes are in antagonistic contradiction with each other, and this contradiction constitutes the principle contradiction in Indian rural society". [20]

These contradictions are on the basis of dominance -

19. R.K.Punia, M.L.Sharma And Deep Punia, "Some Aspects of Change In Agrarian Structure In Haryana", in (ed) M.L.Sharma And T.M.Dak, Caste And Class In Agrarian Society Dynamics of Rural Development Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1985, P.57

20. Rudra A., "Class Relations In Indian Agriculture" Economic & Political Weekly, Vol. XII No.22; 1978; P.916-23

dependence relationships. The dependence of agricultural labour on their landholders is reflected in the indebtedness during the special occasions in the families of the labourers, there they need financial assistance for the marriage of their kins or for the treatment of diseased person in the family. The fieldwork conducted by Tom Brass [21] not only confirms the central role of debt in conflicts between land holders and their work force but also suggests that both permanent and casual labours are bonded as a result of indebtedness.

The 'Siris'* and casual labours are the two groups of agricultural labours. The Green Revolution in the region enhanced the bargaining power of rural workers as a result of increased commercialization or capitalist development in the agriculture. Two types of labour shortage exist in the villages of Haryana after the Green Revolution, there exists a scarcity of labour throughout the year and a relative labour shortage confined to particular moments in the annual cycle. Here, it does not mean the absence of labour, per se, but the fact that subjects of these relations choose to work either for other land holders who pay higher wages or in towns and brick-kilns. [22] The landholders respond to the worker resistance to work in field by recruiting migrant

* Permanent Agriculture Labour

21. Tom Brass, "Class Struggle and the Deproletarianisation of Agricultural Labour in Haryana (India)"
Journal of Peasant Studies Oct.90 P.37

22. Ibid

labour and the threat to recall outstanding loans or cash advances, and the preventions of access to fodder for cattle. It points towards a transformation both in the kind and idiom of authority exercised over labour power, thereby contributing to the overall effectiveness of the economic class struggle waged by the agrarian capitalists.

"Inequalities are increasing (in forms of ownercultivators, tenant cultivators, annual partner for agricultural labour and share croppers) and new agricultural technology is gaining more importance in the production process rather than egalitarian agrarian structure." [23] The techniques of forms of production also differ among unequal groups as specified above. G.S. Bhalla points out that "highly mechanized pattern of agricultural development has actually brought prosperity to every section of the peasantry and even to landless labour." [24]

Although the Green Revolution has increased the production many times through double-cropping and mechanization, it has not improved the conditions of the agricultural workers in the same way. The addition in the members of the landowner's family and joint-family system in the villages bring in a condition of underemployment. The incidence of joint/extended family is not only prevalent among Jat landowners but also Brahmin landowners who unlike

23. Op. cit.

24. G.S. Bhalla, The Green Revolution In Punjab Unpublished Dissertation, CSRD/JNU, New Delhi, 1982, P.82

those in many other parts of the country carry out all agricultural operations by themselves, keeping less scope for labour employment and this paves the way for the migration of the SCs to the towns and if unable to do so, they shift to industrial labour by going to the cities and towns daily. The migration to towns and cities as well as acceptance of new vocations haven't upset the values ingredient in the socio-economic life based on patron-client relations in the selected villages of Haryana.

CHAPTER - II
HARYANA

In modern times the State of Haryana came into being with the division of Punjab on 1st November, 1966. But the cultural and geographical specialities of Haryana are distinct since the ancient period itself. The origin of the word Haryana is associated with Hari-Ka-ana (Place where Hari, the God Vishnu came) The word occurs in the inscription dated 1327 A.D., which refers to this region as heaven on earth and includes Delhi (Dhillika) founded by the Tomars in it. [1]

The formation of present day Haryana was recommended by a Parliamentary Committee under the chairmanship of Sardar Hukum Singh which studied the problem seriously and presented the report to the Parliament on March 18, 1966. On Sep 10, 1966 the recommendations were accepted with minor changes by Parliament of India. And on November 1, 1966 Haryana became the Seventeenth State of Indian territory with the districts of Hissar, Mahendragarh, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Karnal and Tehsils of Narwana and Jind (Part of Sangrur district of Punjab), and Tehsils Kharar, Narayangarh, Ambala and Jagadhari. [2]

The deprivational feeling and the leaderships' inability to reckon with the problems of the people of the Haryana region resulted in the division of Punjab. The

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1. K.S. Singh "People of Haryana" Oxford University Press 1992 P.3
 2. Punjab Boundry Commission Report May 1966 P.1

benefits of economic development were not flowing into the Haryana region, which made the people of the area derelict. Although the people of Haryana region felt being ignored but there was no mass movement^[3] by them to have a separate state.

The major political parties and leaders having strong base in Haryana region were demanding the formation of Haryana Prant soon after the independence because of the political and economic handicaps of Haryana region of Punjab State. It was complementary to the demand of Punjabi Suba in the post independence period. "It was the acceptance of the demand of Punjabi Suba, which was backed by a strong mass-movement that led to the creation of Haryana."^[4]

The formation of Haryana was the result of the demand of Punjabi Suba by the Akalis of Punjab, who started a mass movement to have a distinct identity of Punjab and in the process the Haryanavi leaders of that time succeeded in getting their demand fulfilled for the creation of Haryana as a different state in the territory of India, without a mass movement support.

Geographical Features

The state of Haryana is situated between 27'3' to 31'9' N. latitude and 74'5' to 77'6' E. longitude,^[5] it is a level

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3. Ranbir Singh, "Genesis of The Demand for Haryana Prant" Kurukshetra University Research Journal 1984-85 PP185-190
 4. J.C. Anand, "Punjab Politics of Communalism" in (ed) I.Narain's, State Politics in India PP263-64
 5. Census of India 1991 Haryana Series 8
Final Population Totals Paper of 1991
Director of Census Operations Haryana P.7

plain, 700 to 900 ft. above the sea level. It is having an area of just 44,212 square kilometres. The State is touched by the boundaries of Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Rajasthan and Punjab. It is lying mostly in between the basins of the rivers Indus and Ganga. In the south western parts of the Haryana plains, a great deal of wind blows and sands pile up in the form of sand dunes. These dunes are sometimes very high stretching miles in length. The State's landscape and soil fertility are remarkably diverse. From the lower Shiwaliks in the northern most portion of the State bounded by Himachal Pradesh emerges the Markanda, Ghaggar and a number of other streams. As these streams roll through Ambala and Kurukshetra districts, they spread fertility all along. By the time they get passed through Hisar and Sirsa in the west their waters are all but absorbed in the sands of adjoining Rajasthan. The Yamuna in the east forms a natural boundary between Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Down in the south, lies the industrial belt of Faridabad and further in south itself is the Mevat area criss-crossed by the rocky Aravali Hills.

Population

Haryana has a total Population of 16,463, 648 - rural persons - 12408,904 urban persons - 4054,744, Scheduled Caste population of Haryana is 3250933 - rural persons - 2675, 277, urban persons - 575,656, The density of Population is 372 persons per K.M. The state has 865 females per 1000 males. The SCs population is 19.75% of the total State population, 21.56 percent in rural areas and 14.20

percent in urban areas. The literacy rate of the State is 55.85 percent. [6]

The total number of towns have risen from 81 in 1981 to 94 in 1991. The total number of villages in the State are 7067. In the 96's five new districts have been created which include Yamuna Nagar, Panipat, Rewari, Kaithal and Panchkula. Now the total number of districts in the State has gone upto 17.

Haryana is known as the cradle of ancient Indian culture. At present it has traversed a long journey and marched ahead gallopingly on the path of progress and prosperity. This region was very backward at the time of its creation in 1966, today it is humming with new activities and development. The State has made tremendous progress in every field.

Agriculture

Haryana is considered, primarily an agrarian economy with the developing industrial economy. The Green Revolution has made a significant impact in the agricultural field. Although extreme western and extreme southern regions have lagged behind, but the overall development has been remarkable in the field of agriculture. The wheat production attained a staggering figure of 73.03 lakh tonnes and rice production went up to 22.27 lakh tonnes in 1994-95 as compared to 10.59 lakh

6. Census of India 1991, Haryana Series 8, Final Population Totals, Paper-1 of 1992, (Ramesh Negi I.A.S., Director of Census Operations, Haryana) P.III

tonnes and 2.23 lakh tonnes respectively in 1966-67. As the infrastructure for agricultural progress, the number of tractors has risen to 1.50 lakh in 1994-95 as compared to 4800 in 1966. [7]

Industry

Haryana has developed its economy through industrial growth also. It has implemented a new industrial policy which echoes the commitment of central Government's policy of economic liberalisation. The focus on hi-tech and hi-value industries evolving foreign collaboration and investment are the essentials of State's industrial policy. The rise in the small scale and large scale units from the years 1966-67 to 1994-95 has been considerable. In 1966-67 there were 4,519 small scale units and 162 large scale units, in 1994-95 it went upto 1,25,975 and 756 respectively. A cluster of industrial sheds known as 'Udyog Kunj' have been set up in the 5 villages of five districts. [8]

In the field of infrastructural development also Haryana's progress has been remarkable. The total power generating capacity of the State in 1966 was 343 mw and now it has risen to 2347 mw. Haryana supplies electricity to the adjoining States of Rajasthan, U.P. and the capital of India, Delhi. During its inception Haryana had 1386 villages linked by mettaled roads and now this number has gone up to 6,677. Technical education is one of the most important .ls1

7. India Haryana Director Public Relations, Haryana
Haryana Government Press, Panchkula 1995 P.6

8. Ibid P.12

components of human resource development. The Industrial Training and Vocational Education Department of Haryana is imparting training to improve the skills of youth through a network of 71 industrial training institutes and 78 vocational education institutions in various trades. The reservation for the SCs has made the youths to get benefits and improve their family conditions. The State has carved a prominent place on the tourist map of India. The tourist complexes have been named after birds. These are spread over the National and State highways numbering 45 in 1995 as compared to only 1 in 1996.

Apart from developing the urban areas through the agency of Haryana Urban Development, (HUDA) rural society is also witnessing progress. 71% of the total State budget is being spent on the development of villages. Under IRDP scheme a subsidy of Rs 35.09 crores has been provided to over 1.07 lakh poor families and Jawahar Rozgar Yogna has generated 1.35 crore mandays spending Rs. 91.96 crore. To provide the benefits of government programmes to women under DWCRA scheme 1781 women groups have been formed benefiting 15,702 women. All these aspects make one to conclude that Haryana has progressed a lot after its division from Punjab.

DISTRICTS IN OUR STUDY

1. Panipat

The panipat district is bounded by the districts of Karnal and Kaithal in the north, Rohatak and Sonapat in the south, Jind in the west and Uttar Pradesh in the east. The district has sub-tropical monsoon climate in the form of

seasonal ryth m, hot summer, cool winter, unreliable rainfall and a great variation in temperature.

The history of present day Panipat district can be traced back to the ancient Aryan period. It lies in the Madhyadesha of past-one of the five divisions of India. This area had urban settlements like Kaithal Rajond and Panipat, It is also one of the Prasthas which Yudhishtira demanded from Duryodhana in Mahabharata.

The history of this area becomes more important during the period of Muslim rule. The region became battle ground for the empire of Delhi and three decisive battles were fought at different times. The first was the battle between Babar and Ibrahim Lodhi in 1526 A.D., the second of Babar's grandson, the young Akbar, with the Hemchandra in 1556, and the third of Marathas and Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1761 A.D.

Later on Sikhs defeated the muslim ruler Zakin Khan and killed him on January 14, 1764 and took possession of Sirhind province which included Panipat. The plundering by the Sikhs in the Parganas of Karnal and Panipat continued in the following years. In 1785 a treaty was signed between the Sindhia and the Sikhs for the safety of the crown lands situated between Delhi and Panipat. In 1803, power of the Marathas in north India was completely broken in the district of Panipat passed on the Britishers by the treaty of Surji Arjungaon signed on December 30, 1803 during the uprisings of it did not give not much trouble the Britishers but the marching of British army was always resounded in the

ears of the civil population. [9]

Panipat District in the post independence period came into being vide Haryana Government notification No. S.O. 147/P.A.17/1887/S.5/89 dated 16th October, 1989. [10] It alters the limits of the Karnal district region to form a new district called Panipat. This district comprises of Panipat sub-division and Asandh tehsil of previous Karnal district. Ashandh tehsil comprises of 46 villages, whereas the Panipat tehsil has 188 villages according to 1991 census. There are three municipal committees in the district -- Assandh, Panipat and Samalkha.

The economy of the Panipat district is agro-industrial. The fertile land of the district produces high yields of foodgrains. The percentage of total **main workers** [11] (28.86%) in the district is slightly higher than the percentage of total main workers in the state (28.66%). Also there is slight difference between the number of urban and rural main workers.

The utilisation of development oriented agricultural policies of the government has resulted in the development of rural economy. The subsidy in fertilizers, the use of modern and comprehensive plant protection measures have together contributed to this achievement. The crops grown in

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9. Census of India 1991 District Census Handbook Village And Town Directory, Village Town wise Primary Census Abstract Series 11 Part XIII A&B P.12
 10. Ibid
 11. Cultivators, Agricultural labourers and Household Industry workers etc.

the district are *Kharif* and *Rabi* and those crops which don't strictly fall within these two harvests are known as Zaid crops. On the industrial side the district has 461 registered factories giving an employment to 17185 persons. It is known as "weavers city of India". Also, there are 11 large and medium scale industries, according to 1992 figures. They provide employment to around 4,790 workmen. The units located at Panipat boast of supplying 75 percent of the total need of the woolen blankets to the Indian Army. The migration of population from nearby villages has given tremendous pressure on the industrial town of Panipat.

2. Karnal

The district Karnal has its boundaries with the districts of Kurukshetra and Yamuna Nagar in the north, with the State of U.P in the east, with Panipat district in the south and with Kaithal district in the west. It also has a sub-tropical continental monsoon climate like the district of Panipat.

The district has been named after the great warrior of Mahabharata--Karna, who was a very close associate of Duryodhana and fought for him in the Mahabharata war. A tank and a gate in the city -- Karna Tal and Karna Gate, respectively have been named after him. Like Panipat it also lies in Madhyadesha -- one of the five divisions of India.

During the invasion of Mohammad Gauri this region gained prominence. Mohammad Gauri was defeated by Prithwiraja at Taraori (a town in the north of Karnal) in

A.D. 1190-91, but he again attacked in 1192 and defeated Prithviraja at the same place. Till the close of the 14th century Karnal was attached to Delhi. For about two centuries the region enjoyed peace under the Mughals but was plundered again in 1573 A.D. by Ibrahim Hussain Mirza in his revolt against Akbar and its neighbourhood was laid by 'Banda Baira gi' in A.D. 1709. Thus from 1709 A.D. to 1739 A.D. Sikhs controlled the region. Again in A.D. 1739, Nadir Shah defeated Mohammad Shah.

Sikhs, once again appeared on the scene in 1762 and the importance of Karnal grew during Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind. But Karnal had bad times when Bhag Singh, son of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind lost it to Marathas in A.D. 1787 and finally in A.D. 1795. [12]

The uprisings of 1857 saw the role played by the people of the district, who rose against British authorities. As a result the British government didn't do anything for the development of the district, on the contrary it was used as a recruiting area for the British Army. India saw a change in the 19th century and in the beginning of 20th century Arya Samaj was founded in the Holi Mohalla of Karnal. In Non-co-operation movement of 1920 a district political conference was organised, with Lala Lajpat Rai as its chairman at Karnal.

12. Census of India 1991 District Census Handbook Karnal
Village And Town Directory, Village And Town-Wise
Primary Census Abstract Series 8 Part XII A&B P. 17

The district passed to Haryana on November 1, 1966 when it was created as a separate State. At the time of 1971 census the tehsils of Guhla, Kaithal, Thanesar and Panipat were part of this district. With the coming up of new districts Karnal has become a uni-tehsil district in 1991 census. It has 395 village and six towns, of which 17 villages are uninhabited and one villege has been treated as census town.

The District of Karnal has mixed type of economy. According to 1991 census the total number of main workers in the district are 28.63 percent and 57.45 percent of them are engaged in agricultural activities. Thus the agriculture sector dominates the livelihood of the households. There are only 323 registered working factories that provide employment to about 12300 workers. Some SCs are engaged in 'Desi jutis' making and it is the oldest cottage industry in the district. The large and medium scale units are engaged in manufacturing food products, wood products chemical products etc. The irrigated area was 279 thousand hectares in the year 1990 and the reserved forest area is 247 square kilometers.^[13] There is a web of voluntary organisations in the district, prominent among them are Manav Seva Sangh, Ladies Industrial Home Seva Samiti, Shri S.D. Mababir Dal, Mata Prakash Kaur Welfare Centre for Hearing and Speech Handicaped and Red Cross Society.

13. Ibid

3. Jind

Jind district is bounded by the districts of Kaithal and Panipat in the northeast and east, by Rohtak district in the South-east and south, by the district of Hisar in the south-west and west, and by the state of Punjab in the north-west. It has dry hot in summer and cold in winter. The rainfall in the district is medium and uncertain.

The name of the district Jind is the modified version of Jaintapuri which has been named after the Goddess of victory—Jainti Devi. The Pandvas built a temple in the honour of the goddess and offered prayers and thus launched the battle against the Kaurvas from this region.

The antiquity of the district is established on the basis of the pre-Harapan, the Harappan, the late Harappan and the painted grey wares pottery at various places from the district and the mention of its **tirthas** in the puranas corroborates it.

The district grew importance in the times of Qutab-ud-din Aibak, who ruled over north India including Haryana state. The Jind region was placed under the Iqta of Hansi. Firoz Tughluq (A.D.1325-1351) took out a canal from Yamuna in the line of old Chautang river passing the towns of Safidon and Jind and reaching to Hisar. Babar gave Hisar division, including the Jind district to his son Humayan as a reward for his services in the war campaign. The death of Humayun led to the reign of Akbar who divided his empire into several provinces—Sarkars and Mahals. Jind was the

Mahal under the Hisar Sarkar and it went on till the dawn of Aurangzeb rule.

The history of Jind as a separate state dates from 1763, the year in which the Sikhs captured Sirhind town from Ahmad Shah Durrani's governor and partitioned the old Mughal province. The Raja of Jind descended from Sukh Chain who was the grandson of Phul Singh. Sukh Chain had three sons among whom Gajpat Singh was most adventurous and he conquered the adjoining areas but could not hold them. He built a fort at Jind in 1775 and died in 1789, he was succeeded by his sons Bhag Singh and Bhup Singh. Bhag Singh's grandson Fateh Singh died childless. In 1837 Sarup Singh a second cousin of the Fateh Singh was named as the chief of territory and his grandson ruled the state of Jind till 1947 the year of India's Independence. On 5th May 1948 Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) was created which included Jind region. The district was made at the time of creation of Haryana State on November 1966 with two tehsils of Narwana and Jind. The third tehsil Safidon (under which Hat village comes) was created in 1967 comprising of 60 villages. At the time of 1991 census, Jind district comprised of three tehsils namely Narwana, Jind and Safidon. There are 305 villages and 4 towns in the district at present. [14]

The economy of the Jind district is primarily agro-based. Out of 29.21 percent main workers in the district, it

14. District Census Handbook 1991, Village And Town Directory Village And Town wise Primary Census Abstract, Series 4 Part XII A&B, P.12

has 70.16 percent workers who are engaged in agricultural activities against the 57.77 percent for the State as a whole. [15] Among the three districts studied by the researcher, this district has greater number of agricultural workers. After the formation of Haryana State in 1966 this region has progressed a lot in the agricultural field. The primitive agricultural practices are being replaced by mechanised farming that is increasing the agricultural production of the district. The *Jowar* and the *Bazra* are the major Kharif crops and wheat is principle Rabi foodgrain crop of the district. Western Yamuna Canal and Bhabkra Canal are the two canals passing through the district and irrigating the land. In comparision with two districts of Karnal and Panipat, this district has not developed its secondary and tertiary sectors. The district has only 95 registered working factories, employing about 4055 workers. There are only two major large scale industrial units - Milk plant and Co-operative Sugar Mill, in this district. There are small scale and village cotttage industries which have a marginal impact on the economy of the district.

VILLAGES IN OUR STUDY

Village is the basic unit of Indian rural society. The emergence of the village at a certain stage in the evolution of the life of man has experienced various structural changes during thousands of years of its existence. Village

15. Ibid

economy is basically agrarian economy. Civilisation in the village community began with the development of agriculture. [16] Here is the brief introduction to the three villages viz, **Hat, Bal Ranghran and Babail**, surveyed by the researcher to collect data on political participation of the SCs in Haryana.

1. **Hat**

Hat village is situated 34 Kilometers away from the G.T. Road. It is having district Jind and Panipat almost at the equal distance. The nearby towns are Gohana and Safidon. It lies in Safidon block which comes under Jind district.

Histocally, this is a prominent village. There is a **Tirth** where it is believed that **Pandvas** of Mahabharata performed 'Havan'. It is also belived that the community called **Rods** came first to settle in the village and then came the Jats. During this period it was called 'Rod Khera' Again it was named 'Teli Khera', when a daughter of a Teli* was rebuked by her mother-in-law for wasting the oil in the house then the father of the daughter built a 'tunnel' from Safidon to her in-laws house and poured the oil for her daughter. It was also called 'Panjani Shahar' during this period. The **Tirth** in the village is the head of 68 tirthas and the land adjoining is

P.T.O

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16. A.R.Desai, "Rural Sociology of India"
Popular Prakashan, 1969 P.14
* Oil Merchant Caste person

called **Deh Bhumi** as a result of this there is no need to go to Haridwar after the death of a person from this region.

A place called 'Sthal' is worshiped by every caste's bride-groom before the day of marriage. The village is surrounded by tanks called 'Johars'.* People take bath on the 'ghats' of the 'Tirtha', where separate ghats exist for the SCs and the other castes, 'Mela Hatt' or 'Athsath Tirtha' is held on the last Sunday of **Sawan**. The fair is believed to be held to commemorate the event in which a saint having sacred water of sixty eight places of pilgrimage in a pitcher was placed in the temple or **Tirtha**. [17]

A person named 'Khyali' is believed to have brought the SCs to this village. In the pre-Independence period, they had cultivable land with them, but after independence period they weren't able to pay the **Ugahi**, [18] as a result, they lost their land. This village has a population of 5814 persons, out of which SCs are 1000. [19]

In this village there are dominant as well as dependent castes. The dominants are *Brahmins, Baniyas and Jats*, whereas dependents include *Chamar, Balmiki, Soilgar, Mirasi (Doom) Dhanak*, who are the SCs, *Teli, Dhobi, Kumhar, Luhar, Nai, Sunar, Bairagi, Jhimmer* etc. are the BCs. Agriculture being the dominant sector absorbs most of the population. Here

* Tanks

17. Gazetteer of India, Haryana JIND, Haryana Gazetteers Organisation Revenue Deptt., Chandigarh, 1986, P.103

18. Money required to be the land owner for the land to be landowner.

19. Census of India 1991, Haryana Series 8, Final Population Total Paper 1 of 1992, District of Census operations Haryana, P.235

the agricultural labour is not bounded but open labourship prevails. Educated youth from dominant as well as dependent castes are changing their profession. Government job is considered prestigious, loans are used to begin new professions or to improve the conditions of present occupation. On the social front, interdining is taking place among the SCs and other castes. They interact with each other during special occasions like Mela in savan and Holi in Basant. The interaction is restricted among elderly people, whereas youth usually interact. Untouchability has extinguished. On the political front, the SCs are divided, whereas Jats support the Jat leader parties at the State level.

The village Panchayat has 17 wards in the village, two wards are reserved for SC male and one is reserved for SC female. The Sarpanch of the village belongs to Brahmin community. The SC male panches are of Balmiki community and of Chamar community. The female SC panch is of Doom community.

2. Bal Ranghran

The Village is situated between National Highway (G.T.Road) and State Highway (Asandh Road), A pucca Road is on the two sides of the village. Previously it was known with the combination of another village name Pabana so it was jointly called 'Bal Pabana'.

Historically speaking, this village was created 800 years ago by a person from Ranghran community and that's why even today Ranghrans dominate the village, agriculturally.

The SCs are living in the village from the very beginning. The important places in the village are one *Devi Mandir* and another *Shiva Mandir*. The most prominent festival or Mela of the village is *Dussehra*.

This village has a population of 5341 persons out of which the SCs are 2053.^[20] The dominant castes in the Village are-*Ranghrans, Brahmins and Kors*. The BCs include *Jhimmer, Luhar, Khati, Kumhar, Gosain, Jogi etc.*, whereas *Dhanak, Balmiki, Sansi and Chamars* are the SCs.

The village Panchayat has one sarpanch and 17 panches. In this village Panchayat eight panches are from the SC communities; among whom three are females and five are males. The Sarpanch of this village is the SC women. The husband of the women is ex-sarpanch of the village. She belongs to *Dhanak* caste, two panches belong to *Chamar* caste among whom one is male and another female. one male panch belongs to *Balmiki* caste, with another male from *Sansi* caste.

3. Babail

Babail is situated 9 k.m. away from the G.T.Road of Panipat district headquarter and 7 km from the State Highway called *Sanauli* road. It is very near to Uttar Pradesh border. The Yamuna canal's one sub-stream flows from eastern side of the village.

This village came into being 764 years ago and a person belonging to *Jat* community laid down the village. The name

20. Ibid, P.109

of the village is in the name of a women, who was married to this village. There is a temple on the outskirts of the village, that is called 'Shivalya'. It is believed that there were seven **Maazre**^[21] around the village and they got sunked after an earthquake. Some stones, bricks etc. are found when the place is dugged.

The total population of Babail village is 4784, out of which 666 are the SCs.^[22] The village is dominated by Jat community, having a sizeble population in the village with lots of landholdings. The dominant castes comprise of *Jats, Sadhs, Brahmins and Baniyas* (most of *Baniyas* are migrating to cities), *Kumhar, Jhimmer, Khati and Jogi* castes are BCs who are termed shudras in the Varna System. The *Balmikis* and *Chamars* are the only SC communities, having no land and depending upon wage-labour, factory jobs or Government services. Muslims are the religious minority of the village, who have been living since pre-Independence period. The names of Muslims are like the common names of the village people.

The village Panchayat of Babail consists of fifteen wards with fifteen panches from different castes of the village. There are three SC panches among whom one is Lady and two are males. one male and one female are of *Chamar* community, whereas one male panch is from *Balmiki* community.

21. Place of Worship
22. Op. cit., P.116

The sarpanch of the village is a Jat female. She is from a reputed family of the village.

Caste-Class Relations in the selected Villages

Among these villages, Hat and Babail are agriculturally dominated by Jats who possess most of the land holdings but Bal Ranghran has Ranghrans as holders of land followed by Rors. Some SCs work in the fields of the dominant castes as wage labourers, of course landless. The dependence on land among the SCs is reducing day by day because of shift to services in the private as well as public sector. The untouchability has almost got eradicated in social relations among the people, who took birth after independence. The caste politics with factionalism is gaining strength. The SCs' houses are situated at the outskirts of villages but those who are constructing their houses in the 'Baras' or Ghers* are getting mixed with the houses of other castes, The interaction among different castes takes place at the social, political and economic levels. Although inter-caste dining has started taking place yet inter-caste marriage is furiously opposed. The SCs working in the fields have lower social status than those working outside the village as industrial labourers or government servants.

* Place used for catlles during day-time.

CHAPTER - III
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE
SCHEDULED CASTES IN THE
SELECTED VILLAGES

Political participation has an impact of socio-economic conditions of the participants. A group of people of a community may be more active and articulate than the other. The SCs having their distinct socio-economic conditions in Indian society are the subject of our study. The SCs of three GPs in three different districts of Haryana have been selected for a close examination. From these villages a sample of one hundred households has been selected out of which Babail and Bal Ranghran have thirty five each whereas Hat village has thirty selected households. To make the study authentic different sub-castes within the SCs were taken in the sample. The participation in Panchayat politics by various castes is expected to democratise the politics at grass-roots level and bring the deprived sections of the society into the mainstream. Our study attempts to focus on the socio-economic and cultural relations of the SCs with Caste -- Hindus and to find out their interactions and reactions to the electoral politics in Panchayati Raj system.

The selected GPs have 48 'wards' which include 15 'wards' reserved for the SCs. The data has been collected from primary sources and sample survey. Here some population depends upon agriculture and some of them have got government jobs and others go to the nearby industrial towns and cities. Modern equipments are being used in the agriculture. It is not the grace of the God (Dependence on monsoon) but

the grace of the Haryana State Electricity Board (HSEB) which becomes crucial for more production in agriculture. The agrarian set-up is the determinant factor in the interaction between social status, economic mobility and political participation with the industrialisation and government services as parts of interaction. These villages are not free from social and economic disabilities prevalent among rest of the SCs in the country. The practice of untouchability has extinguished in the social relationships.

On the social front, Jats, Ranghrans, Banias, and Brahamins are the Dominant Castes and Backward Castes and the SCs are dependent castes. Within the SCs, Chamars, Balmikis, Dhanaks and Sansis are major sub-castes. The atrocities on the SCs are not so rampant like Bihar and U.P. The 1990 Mandal agitation has brought in some tensions among the dominant and dependent castes. Although there is dependence of the SCs on landowning castes but the landowning castes have less dependence on the SCs as the migratory labour from Bihar and U.P. is available for agricultural functions.

The pollution-purity concept doesn't have recognition. The interaction among different castes prevails but the intercaste marriages are opposed. The impact of rural-urban interaction and metropolitan influence of Delhi and Chandigarh is seen on the caste relationships. The education is also spreading and paving way for open mindedness. The SCs reside in the outskirts of the villages but some of the Caste --- Hindus have also started coming out of the village

for staying in their **Baras**.^[1] The SCs follow most of the rituals and practices of Caste --- Hindus and have become a part of their culture.

Although the marriages are performed on the basis of Hindu rituals but there are different priests for the SCs and the other castes who recite the **mantras** during the marriage. As the widow or widower can remarry, the **phera** ceremony may again be performed which is called **punna pheras**.

The women are not restricted to perform the social, economic and even political functions, they bring potable water and collect fuel and fodder. Some women contribute to the family income by going to the fields or by doing scavenging work.

The disputes arising within families or between families are sorted out through the **Biradari Panchayat** and statutory Panchayat. In modern times the old system of joint-family is breaking down.

The Caste-Hindus come to the shops of the SCs and vice versa. The tea stalls near the bus-stands have both the Caste-Hindus and the SCs, where they take tea in the same cups or glasses. The SCs who have cleanliness in their homes are visited by Caste-Hindus on different occasions. One SC woman told that, "Eb to jattan ke chhore mahare ghar mein aa ke kidhoni mein se lassi bhi pi lete hein." (The boys of Jats come to our house, and drink

1. Land used for animals during daytime.

lassi from the pot). The male to male interaction is prevalent among different castes but it is restricted in terms of female-interaction. The Caste-Hindu females are more prone to the practice of untouchability than their male counterparts with that of the SCs. Although most of the festivals of both Caste-Hindus and the SCs are similar but the festivals like Ambedkar Birthday celebrations and Balmiki Jaymati of the SCs are not celebrated by the Caste-Hindus. Moreover sometimes dominant caste Hindu pelt stones during these celebrations of the SCs. There are temples of Hindus god and goddesses in the selected villages. In Hat village the Tirth has different places for taking bath for Caste-Hindus and the SCs.

All the three selected villages have SC organisations in the name of Dr Ambedkar or Saint Balmiki or Saint Ravidas or Saint Kabirdas.

(1) EDUCATIONAL STATUS

Education is an important index of modernisation and rationality. And in a democratic system it plays an important role in developing the human understanding of the society and its structures. The SCs are one of the most backward people in terms of education. The poor economic conditions prevent them from entering into the educational sphere. The Government of India reports talk about the drop-outs of the children from the school, where the SC children stand at the top. The Boys drop out is due to bad company, disinterest and poverty. The girls drop out is due to household work, disinterest, poverty

and social reasons .

The Green Revolution has provided them with some financial support which is not enough for the proper schooling, dressing and purchasing of books for educating children. The State Government sanctions free books and clothes to the SC children but not supplied in time. The conception that the rich can only get the higher education is changing among the SCs and they try their level best to educate their children. The atmosphere in which the children get education is deteriorating day by day. The adjoining towns and cities to the villages make the children to go there for watching movies and having fun. The following table shows the educational status of the SCs in the three selected villages.

Table 3.1 - Educational Status Among The SC Voters

Variables	NO. of Respodents	Percentage
Illiterate	61	61
Middle Pass	24	24
Above Middle	15	15

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Resarcher

The data presented in the above table shows that a sample of 100 respondents was choosen, out of which 61 persons are (61%) illiterates followed by 24 persons (24%) who are middle school qualified and 15 persons (15%) are having above middle qualification, who can be called higher educated. The figures present that majority of the SCs are illiterates and among educated persons minority of them have higher qualifications.

(2) LANDED PROPERTY

Landholding is a status symbol in the rural society. Agriculture being the prime occupation of villagers adds to the value and status of the land holders. The SCs have been provided land through the land reforms in many states. Some attempts were made in Haryana also, but couldn't be implemented properly. The possession of land by the SCs is recorded in the following Table.

Table 3.2 - Land Holding Among the SCs

Land Holding	Respondent	Percentage
0 - 1 acre	0	0
2 - 5 acres	2	2
6 - 10 acres	0	0
11 - above	0	0

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above mentioned table shows that the SCs in the three villages don't have land. Only 2 (2%) respondents have land between 2 to 5 acres. It shows that the SCs in the villages are land less. They used to work in the fields of dominant castes but now the youngsters are changing their dependence on the village landholders.

(3) Economic Position

Marx based his theory of development on the basis of economic conditions and considered that economic development brings an allround development of the individual and the society. Haryana is one of the most developed States in India. Although the SCs of Haryana are economically poor in the villages but when compared to the SCs of other backward states, they are having upper hand at

the financial level. The SCs of the selected villages belong to lower and middle class. Most of them are agricultural workers, daily wage-earners etc. Now-a-days young boys of the community prefer to work in the factories of nearby towns and cities than to go to the fields. The SCs don't possess land on which they can depend, but they are the landless labourers working on **Theka**^[2] or cash money in the fields of dominant castes. The developing educational level has also contributed for the improvement in the economic status. The below mentioned figures bring out the facts on the economic conditions of the SCs.

Table 3.3 - Income Level Among the SCs

Variables Income (Annual)	No. Of Respondent	Percentage
UP TO RS. 5000	20	20
5001 - 10000	39	39
10001 - 15000	22	22
15001 - 200000	4	4
21001 and above	10	10

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table reveals that out of 100 households, 20 (20%) have upto Rs 5000 annual income, 39 (39%) respondents have income between Rs. 5001 and Rs. 10000, 22 (22%) are having an annual income between Rs. 10001 and Rs 15000, the lowest numbers 4 (4%) is having Rs. between Rs 15001 and Rs. 20000, and finally 10 (10%) are the possessers of above Rs 200001 income in a year. There were 3 students and 2 house wives, who didn't tell their income. It shows that

2. Land used on the basis of tenancy.

in the selected villages there are people below poverty line and above poverty line. The data shows most of the SCs are poor and only a meagre number (10%) are having higher annual income, who are the government servants or the small businessmen of the selected villages.

(4) Family Size

The family size of the respondents has an impact on the economic position of the respondents at large. The larger the size of the family, lower is the status of the family in the economic sphere. It is a fact that the poor people have large families. The SCs are poor in the villages and they don't have the knowledge of the family planning and if they get some idea, they aren't able to implement it.

Table No.3.4 - Family Size Among the SCs

Size of the Family	No. Of Respondents	Percentage
Upto 4	18	18
5 - 7	64	64
8 - 10	14	14
Above 10	4	4

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that only 18 respondents (18%) have their family below 4 persons, majority of the respondents (64%) have their family members from 5 to 7, what shows that they are not exercising the family planning measures suggested by the government (one of the elected panches had to resign, because of the provision of having maximum 2 children in the family of the elected panch), 14 respondents (14%) have the family between 8 to 10 persons,

and 4 respondents (4%) among whom the elected sarpanch of village Bal Ranghran have the family members above 10 persons. Thus large family size of the respondents is also contributing to the poor socio-economic conditions of the SCs in the villages of three districts.

(5) Occupation

The type of occupation adopted by the individuals is an important factor for looking at the economic conditions. The traditional occupation makes the SCs to remain at the bottom in economic hierarchy and the modern occupation makes them economically equivalent to the other caste groups. The table given below illustrates the occupational status of the SCs in the selected villages.

Table No. 3.5 - Occupational Status Among the SCs

Variables	Respondent	Percentage
Traditional Occupation	15	15
Government Job	11	11
Busseness	8	8
Wage-Earning	61	61

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table shows that the SCs are adopting new types of sources of income and occupational mobility is taking place among them. Although wage earners (61%) could be counted as traditional occupationalists but in fact the traditional occupationalists (15%) are cobblers, weavers, sweepers and hunters. The 11 households (11%) are government job holders, and 8 respondents (8%) are small bussinessmen. It can be pointed out that the wage-earners form the majority of SCs in the three selected villages. It puts them at

the lowest level in terms of income in the villages.

Rural Development Programmes & the SCs in the Selected Villages

In a country where most of its population resides in the villages, the Rural Development through various public policies becomes important. As India lives in the villages in the same way majority of the SCs in Haryana have shelter in the villages. Thus the Rural Development and the SCs welfare in those programmes becomes important to analyse the SCs' socio-economic conditions in relation to the programmes launched by the government at the grass-roots level. The Rural Development has been defined "as a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people." [3] As a fundamental approach, Rural Development is targeted towards benefiting the rural poor in general and the SCs in particular from the culture of poverty, perpetuated over the ages.

The Government of India is committed towards Rural Development and the SCs welfare through its various programmes. The Haryana Government has also fixed its 71 percent budgetary allocations towards rural development. In the mid-sixties rural development started focussing on the eradication of poverty, unemployment, economic inequality and illiteracy, which has resulted in the development of the SCs. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 has emphasised to bring out clear-cut policies and makes the

3. Ramanujam TCA Srinivasan, "The Current Rural Development Model - An Assessment."
Kurukshetra Oct. 1994 Annual Number P.38

Indian Administration more responsive towards the rural development and welfare of the SCs as it has become heart of power politics in rural India.

The SCs are at the bottom of Indian society. All the process of development in a centrally planned economy like India are affected by the government interventions directly or indirectly. The constitutional provisions to safeguard the interests of the SCs may be divided into 3 parts (1) at the social level it is concerned with abolishing untouchability, (2) at the economic level reservations in public services and socio-economic programmes, and (3) reservation in the central and the state legislatures at the political level.

The State Government has been punishing the people involved in the untouchability offences and to abolish the psychological pressure on the SCs of the obnoxious practice of carrying nightsoil on head is being implemented and scavengers rendered jobless, as a result of this scheme are being rehabilitated.

The SC population being concentrated in the rural areas has been given special preferences in the developmental programmes. To alleviate their poverty, has been central concern of the developmental planning in India. In various programmes launched by the government special preference is given to the SCs. The Jawahar Rojgar Yojna tries for overall development of unemployed and underemployed people in the rural areas. Over 1.35 lakhs mandays have been generated spending Rs. 91.96 crore under this scheme in Haryana.

The houses have been constructed by the Government, for the SCs who don't have residence, under Indira Avas Yojna. An amount of Rs. 985 crore has been spent to build 7,081 houses in the State.

A new scheme called 'Apni Beti Apna Dhan' has been launched to gain respect for a Girl child, although this is for common residents of the State but among the SCs only those serving as Class 1 and Class 2 officers have been excluded from the scheme. 'Haryana Harijan Kalyan Nigam' provides special loans to purchase buffaloes, vehicles, cultivable land, Dr. Ambedkar Vayapar Yojana etc., for the upliftment of the SCs. Apart from Indira Avas Yojna, the loan called 'Lai-mai' is being provided to the SCs where 30% reservation has been implemented to construct the Houses. The Central Co-operative Banks made a record achievement in the country by enrolling almost 100% percent SCs families and advancing them loans.

The educated SCs are able to get the loans after consultations with the officials at the block and district level. The middlemen between the officials and the common villagers consume most of the money to get it sanctioned. Most of the SCs do not know about the programmes for their upliftment. There are programmes which remain only on papers & sanctioned money remains in the files. The sample study conducted through a questionnaire asked about the views of the SCs regarding implementation of government programmes. The responses of the SC voters toward implementation of

government programmes has been shown in the table below.

Table No. 3.6 - Voters Perception Towards Implementation of Government Programmes

Are Government programmes properly implemented	No. of Responent	Persentage
1. Yes	4	4
2. No	96	96

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The study of the above table shows the dis-satisfaction among the SCs over the implementation of government programmes. The ninety six (96%) respondents complained that the implementation of socio-economic programmes is not done honestly and only 4 (4%) respondents were satisfied with the implementing agencies. The reasons for this dis-satisfaction were told to be apathy of bureaucracy, delaying process in the name of 'passage of money through proper channel', political corruption and factions at the village level. There is lot of scarcity of resourses in the villages and villagers need governmental help in the form of loans or other financial help, inaccessability of the officers and the bribes taken by middleman are also the cause of disillusionment and dis-satisfaction among the SCs. Although economic condition is improving, but it is not as it is being propgated in the media and government reports.

SUMMING UP

The SCs in the villages of Haryana are moving towards development and progress. They don't own big landholdings and if small, that isn't sufficient for the whole family's upbringing. The number of total landholders in the three villages were only 7 (only 2 according to survey) in number. Thus it could be argued that land reforms have not been implemented properly. The Green Revolution has increased the income of the villages and with that the SCs also got benefited as a result of increase in the wages. The working in government departments and in the industries set-up in the nearby towns and cities have also benefited and changed the life-style of the SCs. Those who don't have the equal social status with their own caste-members, they want to change their traditional occupation to achieve social status in the village community.

The traditional segregation from other communities of the village is decreasing day by day. The younger people have started inter-dining with other castes and vice-versa. For this change education is playing an important role. But the division within SCs could be observed in the social relationships, but it is also on decline like inter-caste interaction. Here the issue of cleanliness is playing a significant role. Inter-caste dining may have started but inter-caste and intra-caste marriages are openly and furiously opposed. The relationship between men and women is almost complementary as both work for the financial

support of the family. Women have a say not only in economic but also social and political matters.

The programmes launched by the government are not being implemented properly. The role of 'middleman' is always felt by the SCs in implementing the programmes. The government role in eradicating the poverty cannot be denied, at the same time the programmes have made conscious the SC community and the expectations of common SC members have risen, and government has failed to recognise and work accordingly. The terms like 'development' and 'social justice' are being understood partially by the villagers but understanding of those terms haven't taken roots.

Thus it could be argued that socio-economic conditions of the SCs is improving in the three Villages in particular and in Haryana and in India at large. The SCs are shifting to other professions from traditional or wage-earning professions. Untouchability has almost extinguished in social relations. Illiteracy is still rampant among them with low levels of income. In spite of socio-economic disabilities prevalent among them. These interpretations reflect that scenario at the village level is getting changed, but it needs sincerity and honesty on the part of the government as well as the citizens.

CHAPTER - IV
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE
SCHEDULED CASTE VOTERS IN THE
GRAM PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS
IN THE SELECTED VILLAGES

The main focus of this chapter is the political participation of the SCs in the selected villages of Haryana. Here the participatory characteristics of the SCs in the Panchayat politics at the village level are being presented to understand the political behaviour of the SCs in Haryana. Their socio-economic conditions discussed in the previous chapter have also been taken into consideration. Panchayats are in existence since the ancient times at the community as well as at the village level, so Panchayat behaviour of the actors is the outcome of community values and its needs. The actor's performance in the Panchayat elections is influenced by his/her economic position and social relations with the community during the day-to-day life. The strength of the idea of rural self-government depends upon the participating interest among different sections of the society. Earlier there was a tradition of co-opting the members of the SCs in the Panchayat, which lacked the interest of the SC voters in the Panchayat elections but with the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, involvement of the weaker sections of the society has been made compulsory. The role played by village Panchayats could be understood through a study of elections and political behaviour of the incumbents at the grass-roots level or GP level.

For the purpose of our study, a sample of hundred respondents was selected from three villages of three

different districts to ascertain the political behaviour and political awareness of the SCs. The respondents were provided with a questionnaire asking their participation in various activities of politics at the GP level. The observations were both participatory and non-participatory. The uneducated as well as educated respondents were contacted personally by the researcher. The uneducated persons were asked the question in their local dialect and the information or views expressed by them were filled in the questionnaire by the researcher himself to avoid the future inconveniences.

Voting Behaviour

As participation is necessary for the success of any system, so is the voting for a democratic system. Voting is the basic form of participation and is considered fundamental by the political scientists.^[1] Panchayati Raj System is the part of democratic system in India. The involvement of the people in the PRIs is a valuable asset for smooth functioning and successful outcome. Voting behaviour is the consequence of mobilisational strategies adopted by the contesting actors and the socialisation process of the voters. Voting behaviour varies from one form of election to the other form of election according to the

1. Sidney (Webb) N (Nie) And J. (Kim), "The modes of Democratic Participation : A Cross National Comparison." Comparative Politics Series No. 1-13
Beverly Hill Sage Publication, 1971, P.96

context of the "government institutions." [2]

Panchayati Raj develops the political consciousness of the villagers. The voting behaviour is influenced by the values and systems ingredient in the social system of the village and community. There were times when election to Panchayats was direct or by unanimous choice, it hindered the awakening of voters while participating in the State Assembly or Parliament elections. But, now the politicisation taking place in the rural areas, has made the election procedure more complex and consequently voting behaviour of the villagers more crucial for the selection of the leaders at the village level.

The reservation policy for the disadvantaged sections, mainly the SCs, the STs and the Women of all sections, has resulted in the increasing percentage of voting and involvement of the people in other political activities at the local level. The 'recruitment' procedure adopted has the basic intention of accommodation of various interests of castes, groups and sexes.

However, the caste is the most widely and intently studied phenomenon in the electoral politics of rural society followed by factionalism based on kin, family and party. There is an increasing evidence to the effect that

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2. Samuel J. (Eldersveld), "Theory And Method In Voting Behaviour Research" in (ed) Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld And Morris Janowitz , Political Behaviour Amerind Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1959 P.267

the "role of primordial loyalty in election is on decline", [3] and voters coming together "with a faction is not so much their political or ideological commitment and involvement, as their perceived self-interests." [4] The voting behaviour being the result of socialisation process has the basic interests of the SCs to be the part and parcel of the Indian society. Discussing about the most "disadvantaged sectors" [5] political scientists have mentioned the SCs and talked about their low political consciousness because of their vast poverty, illiteracy and social backwardness. To test the voting participation of the SCs, a question was asked "Did you vote in the last Panchayat elections?"

Table 4.1 - Voting Behaviour in Selected GPs

Did you vote in the last election	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	94	94
No	6	6

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above mentioned data shows that out of 100 respondents 94 (94%) persons voted in the 1994 Panchayat election held last time. It shows that the SCs are

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3. Rajni Kothari (ed) Caste in Indian Politics
Orient Longman, New Delhi 1970, P. 10
 4. J.K.Baral, "Leadership And Factionalism In Indian Villages"
Journal of Social And Economic Studies, Vol. 3 No. 2;
September 1975 PP 179-192
 5. Myron Weiner and J.O.Field (ed) Three
Disadvantaged Sectors Vol.2
Studies in Electoral Politics in Indian States
New Delhi 1975

interested in the Panchayat politics and they participate in the political system of the rural self-government. Only 6 respondents abstained from voting process.

Campaigning

Campaign is the major tool of getting the support of the voters. It arouses voters's curiosity, identities, issues of debate, spreads information, facilitates their choice, and mobilises voters into the system. It helps for voter's politicization, and performs an educative function, what could also be considered a part of political socialisation providing the basis for voting behaviour. Campaign is considered to be one of the most effective machine to activise voters and also it works as an index to know their intensity of exposure and participation in voting process. Our study delineates the SC elctorate exposure and participation in the election campaign carried out by the contestents in the rural politics. In this regard questionnaire contanied a question asking their participation in the campaign activity. The responses are shown in the following table.

Table 4.2 - Participation in Campaign Activities

Campaigned for candidates	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	67	67
No	33	33

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table indicates that out of 100 respondents 67 (67%) participated in the campaigning for candidates and 33 (33%) didn't take interest and remained passive. It shows

that the contestants were capable of interacting with the people and mobilised them to campaign for them. Only 1/3rd of the voters didn't campaign.

Vote-Casting

Casting of Vote in favour of a candidate is one of the most important factor to judge the voting behaviour of the voters. It shows the active tendency of the voter in which he/she decides to vote for a particular candidate. It equally has the impact on the contestants, who win or lose by the casting of the vote by individual voters. In all the three villages studied, **Panches** seats were reserved for the SC members, whereas in **Bal Ranghran** village the Sarpanch (Head) seat was reserved for the SC women. The total number of panch seats reserved for the SCs were fourteen, out of which five were reserved for women. In all the fourteen wards reserved for the SCs whichever sub-caste among the SCs was in majority, the candidate of that particular sub-caste got elected. The respondents were asked the questions "Whom did you vote? Whether he/she won or got defeated?"

Table 4.3 - Casting of Votes for the Panches

Elected Panches	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	73	73
No	21	21
No opinion	6	6

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that in the three villages, 73 (73%) SC voters voted for the present panches, and 21 (21%) voted in favour of those candidates who lost the election. It shows that presently elected panches are the real repre-

sentatives of voters as they got the majority of the votes.

Sarpanch or Head of the village is the most powerful and influential post at the GP level. The GP functions under the presidentship of sarpanch. The major decisions are taken in accordance with his/her wishes. The panches communicate their views to the sarpanch. The sarpanch prepares the agenda to be discussed in the GP meetings, and instructs the **Panchayat Chowkidar** to circulate the agenda among the panches. If seen from this point of view the election of the sarpanch becomes most significant and crucial at times. The respondents in the three Villages were asked, "whether they voted for the present sarpanch?" The Responses are as shown in the table below.

Tabel 4.4 - Casting of Votes for the Sarpanches

Voted Sarpanch	Respondents	Percentage
Won	45	45
Defeated	49	49
No Opinion	6	6

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table shows that out of 100 respondents only 45 (45%) persons voted for the present sarpanches and those sarpanches whom 49 (49%) respondents voted got defeated.

Interaction Between Caste And Politics

The impact of the social system on the political system is unavoidable and certain. India, although adopted the 'Western' system of parliamentary government, yet caste (primarily Indian) plays a crucial role in the politics. The modernisation process has infused and influenced the primordial attachments of the people but the 'total'

transformation hasn't taken place. While talking about caste, one finds that there is "politicisation of caste in India." [6] Haryana has also been affected by the impact of caste in politics. Discussing about the division of Haryanvi society in many caste groups Prof. Ranbir Singh concludes that the "most determining factor in the politics of State is the antagonism of various caste groups." [7]

The caste divisions are more sharp in rural areas than in urban areas, and when it comes to the politics at the central, state or local level, those divisions get more sharpened and crucial in the Panchayat elections. Here is the struggle for power at the lowest level, where people are polarised on caste lines. Observing this fact a political scientist says that the rural masses know only the language of traditional politics, which so largely turns about caste." [8]

In recent years a number of forces and factors have influenced the caste system, those have brought about significant modifications in its form and functioning. The Constitutional provisions for the upliftment of the SCs, are working as their saviours and have provided a consciousness among all the castes and individuals to look at them

6. Op. cit.

7. Ranbir Singh, "Legislative Elite In Haryana : Representation of Agriculturist Castes" Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol.4, 1979, P.618-31

8. W.H. Morris Jones, The Government And Politics In India, Huchinson University Librery, London, 1964, P.65

positively as the members of Indian society. Talking about changing caste system at the village level S.N. Mishra observes that "the system at village level is still characterised by the vertical gradation of castes, and by recognisable social distance between the different castes, but the modes through which the hierarchy and distance are expressed have undergone a definite change." [9]

The Panchayati Raj working at the grass-root level is a source of capturing power, what brings in conflicts among different castes and these divisions are primarily as zamindars and non-zamindars. [10] To find out the perceptions of the SCs toward caste and rural politics in the three villages of Haryana a question "Do the people vote and campaign on the basis of caste?" was asked. The responses were as shown in the table 4.5.

Table 4.5 - Role of Caste in Panchayat Elections

Casteism plays role in politics	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	87	87
No	13	13

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table reveals that caste has played an important and decisive role in the Panchayat elections because out of 100 respondents 87 (87%) told that Voting and campaigning is done on the basis of caste. Election was contested on the

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9. S.N. Mishra, Politics and Society In Rural India
A Study of Darauli Gram Panchayat, Siwan District Bihar
(Inter-India Publications, Delhi) P. 77
10. Op. cit, Ranbir Singh

caste basis. Although the seats were reserved for the SCs as a whole but the candidates, who won the election were from the majority number of voters of his/her own sub-caste in the respective wards.

The above mentioned interpretations may also be tested by the next question asked to the respondents by the researcher, where they were directly asked their views on their voting behaviour and their caste. The question was "would you vote for your caste fellow?"

Table 4.6 - Voting in GPs on Caste basis

Vote for caste Candidate	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	93	93
No	7	7

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table shows that caste ties get more sharpened when it comes to support the candidate of their own sub-caste by the voters. Out of 100 respondents 93 (93%) expressed that they will vote for a SC candidate, if he/she belongs to their own sub-caste. It shows that various sub-castes within SCs are divided for the selection of Panchayat actors at the village level. It also shows that the numerical strength matters in the selection of the SC candidates and whichever caste has the majority, they make the victory of their candidate sure.

Although political parties didn't participate in the elections at the GP level in the last elections, yet they are important factors in the present day India. It is only in a democratic system, where parties play role directly or

indirectly in every sphere of political activities. Panchayat politics is linked with the state politics. At the PS and ZP level parties were directly involved. So long as parties are in existence, politics can not be violated from their interventions. The political system has to accommodate various interests of different groups and it is done only through the political parties in a democratic set up. To test the ties between the voters and the castes, voters of the three villages were asked, "Would you vote in favour of your caste candidate belonging to any party?" The following table illustrates their responses.

Table 4.7 - Voting for Any Party's Caste-Candidate

Vote for caste candidate of any Party	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	39	39
No	61	61

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table points out that while choosing between caste and party candidates, majority of the SC voters choose the candidate not the party. Out of 100 respondents only 39 (39%) responded positively, whereas 61 (61%) were of the opinion that they will choose caste first and party second. At the same time they revealed that the personality of the candidate would matter a lot in their choice for an SC candidate but from a party.

Political Socialisation And The SC Voters

Political socialisation is an inescapable process through which the individual has to pass throughout the life. Political perceptions of an individual are the

consequences of the way he/she is socialised but politically. Political sociologists put political socialisation as an "input political function" [11] in a political system or "system maintainance or adaptation function". [12] Political socialisation being the result of amalgamation of various institutions in the society is not mediated through any particular institution. Putting it into concrete words Hyman asserts "individuals are socialised into politics on the basis of experiences in given groups and environments, who actively judge the environment and select experience" [13]

The political culture in which the individual grows, conceptualises the political socialisation. The influence of Western education and related aspects have made an impact on the traditional social stratification in India. Accepting this fact in case of Haryana Prof. Ranbir Singh & Happy Singla point out that "the partial change in the political culture has disturbed the authoritarian consensus and produced new conflicts in society, which have resulted in the emergence of new type of democrate consensus. Now the politics in the State has a peculiar amalgamation and co-existence of traditional and modern idioms and styles." [14]

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11. Gabriel A. Almond, Introduction : A Functional Approach To Comparative Societies
Princeton 1961, P.P. 26-27
 12. Gabriel A. Almond And G. Bingham Powell, Systems Process And Polity : Comparative Politics
Little, Brown, Boston 1978 P.14
 13. Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialisation
Indian Edition, New Delhi 1972, P.133
 14. Ranbir Singh And Happy Singla, "Caste And Voting Preferences in 1982 Haryana Vidhan Sabha Elections: A Case Study" Kurukshetra University Research Journal
Vol. XX-XXI 1986-87 P.P 306-309

The Panchayat elections at the local level have a vital importance for rural development and the political socialisation of the villagers. The election process includes two way process where there is a communication between the masses and the leaders at the grass-root level. The selection of leaders and participatory values have the impact of socialisation process. The caste in changing rural India, is no longer a mark of status as it once was, and the socialisation process has made the SCs to "stand for public office to assert their claims to status." [15]

Mass Media

The control over the Panchayat not only enhances the status of one's group but also has greater access to government. The impact of socialisation, in the rural politics, among the SCs is being affected by various awakening programmes launched by the government, within this the role of mass media has a greater importance. The exposure to mass media of the citizens at the local level has not taken roots as it is in the urban centres. But Haryana being one of the leading developing states in India has been able to expose the rural people to the Newspaper, Radio and Television. Almond and Powell [16] have also discussed the mass media as one of the five communication

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15. S.N. Mishra , "Political Culture In India Rural India, Panchayati Raj Elections" in (ed) Prof. Ali Ashraf The Emerging Political Culture In India Hira Publications, New Delhi 1995 P. 106
 16. Almond And Powell, Comparative Politics - A Development Approach Oxford & I.B.H. Publishing House Company, 1972 P.167

structures in a society. When asked about the reading of Newspapers, listening to Radio and watching Television, the respondents answered as shown in the following table.

Table 4.8 - Voter's Exposure of Mass-Media

Exposure to Mass-media	Respondents	Percentage
Newspapers	29	29
Radio	15	15
Television	40	40
None	28	28

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above mentioned data in the table shows that among all the three sources of information, Television plays most important role followed by Newspapers, whereas Radio is at the lowest, that is listened by only 15 (15%) respondents. The table reveals that Television is watched by majority of the respondents (40%) who are exposed to mass-media. But at the same time 28 (28%) respondents don't listen Radio, watch Television or read the Newspapers. This is the number of those respondents who are very poor among the SCs and don't have the time to entertain and socialise themselves through the communication network system.

Family Influence

As an agency of political socialisation family plays a vital role and influences the behaviour of the individual in the society. Putting it at the highest level Hyman says, "foremost among the agencies of socialisation into politics is the family."^[17] The child takes birth into a family and

18. Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialisation
The Free Press, New York, 1959, P. 51

gets influenced by the environment prevailing in the family. Family transmits the defined values of a general nature and cultural norms, which may have political implications. To know about the voter's decision to vote in favour of a particular candidate question was asked "Did you vote according to your desire or under family influence?" The responses were as recorded in the following table.

Table 4.9 - Family Influence in the Voting

Variables	Respondents	Percentage
1. Voted according to self will	92	92
2. Voted under family influence	2	2
3. No opinion	6	6

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that 92(92%) respondents voted according to their own will and not under any influence. It shows that individuality among the SC voters is coming up and only 2 (2%) respondents voted under the influence of the family. At the same time the respondents revealed that "we didn't vote under pressure", it shows that individual decision-making has taken roots among the SC voters of the three villages in particular and in Haryana in general. The respondents who had no opinion were absent from voting process.

Panchayat Meetings

The political institutions function for the political socialisation of the individuals. The most significant political institution at the village level for the political socialisation of villagers are the GS and GP. The meetings

of these institutions are open to every member of the Gram Sabha. Although every member does not have decision-making power but they can observe, how the policies are formulated and implemented for the rural development. "An individual's belief that he can effectively participate in politics and in this way he has some control over the action of political decision-makers" [18] plays an important role for his/her political socialisation. The voters feeling towards the political system has great impact for its successful functioning. Arguing on this point political scientists say "the Panchayat meetings are held in a peaceful atmosphere and conducted according to parliamentary pattern." [19] To know the political efficacy towards the local self-government the voters were asked "Do you participate in Panchayat meetings?" The responses are as shown in the table below.

Table 4.10 - Voters Participation in Panchayat Meetings

Participation in Panchayat Meetings	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	25	25
No	75	75

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that out of 100 respondents only 25 (25%) respondents go to the meetings of Panchayat and majority of them 75 (75%) do not have interest in the Panchayat meetings. Among those who don't participate in the

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18. Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization
Oxford University Press, London 1969, P. 142
19. Iqbal Narain And P.C.Mathur, Politics In Changing India
Rawat Publications, New Delhi 1994, P. 47

Panchayat meetings, majority is of women respondents. It brings out the fact that Panchayat meetings play marginal role in the political socialisation of the SC voters.

The political socialisation of rural masses has an impact of literacy rate prevalent among them. The literacy rate among the SCs of the three villages is 39 percent. Literacy is not 'the' factor in the political socialisation process. Referring towards this argument Iqbal Narain and P.L. Mathur point out regarding rural masses that in spite of their low literacy and limited capacity to have sympathy with the aspirations and plans of modern India's politico-economic policy makers, have, nevertheless, displayed extraordinary political literacy in terms of effective participation in the modernistic democratic political system of the country of which they became citizens almost overnight. [20]

The introduction of 'Identity cards' to voters of India was the part of modern democratic political system, in which the system was to be strengthened with free and fair election process. Haryana was one of the leading States, providing identity cards to the majority of its voters. To test the interest of the SC voters in the political process at the centre and the state level at large and in rural politics in particular, a question was asked "Have you got your "Identity Card?" The responses are shown in the following table.

Table 4.11 - Voters And the 'Identity Cards'

Got 'Identity Card'	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	97	97
No	3	3

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table shows that 97 (97%) respondents have got their identity cards and only 3 (3%) were left out. This shows that the SC voters of the three villages are very conscious about their political rights and the political socialisation has taken roots in their behaviour. It could primarily be considered the result of political socialisation that made them to get their 'Identity Cards' to take part in the elections at different levels, particularly at the village level, because the elections were just to be held, when the 'Identity Card' providing process started.

Election implies choice and also a reasonable basis for choice. Political awareness provides the material for such a basis. In our study, political awareness has been used merely as an expression and identification over some political aspects relating to the problems, facing the country. The electorate was asked regarding the problems facing the country. This could be seen as an indicative of their participation and thinking over the problems as well as their preference to such problems. The question regarding this was "What do you think are the problems faced by the country?" This was an open-ended question and most of the respondents were supposed to tell 3 major problems.

Table 4.12-Voters Awareness Regarding The National Problems

Problems facing the country	Respondents	Percentage
Unemployment	91(out of 100)	91
Poverty	79 "	79
Corruption	48 "	48
Price rise	37 "	37
Population-growth	10 "	10
Terrorism	5 "	5
Casterism	5 "	5

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table reflects that most of the respondents 91 (91%) believe unemployment to be the major problem facing the country at present. This is because of the perceptions of the voters that government was unable to provide employment to its citizens -- educated or uneducated. The second problem felt by 79 (79%) respondents is the poverty prevalent among the rural people. The third major problem was the corruption of different forms that was felt by 48 (48%) respondents, price rise as a problem was considered by 37 (37%) whereas 10 (10%) felt population growth also to be the problem, facing the country at present. Terrorism and casteism was felt by only 5,5 (5%) respondents respectively, among the three top level national problems.

Political Parties, Panchayats and Voters.

Political parties are considered to be the vehicles of political mobilisation, making the voters enthusiastic and participative in the election process. The nature of political parties decides the efficiency of the democratic system. Political parties play their role in the mobilisation of the masses, in enrolling the membership and

in making them politically active. The extent to which the voters have the membership of political parties decides and activates their political interest. Traditionally the SCs have been identifying themselves with the Congress Party. Haryana politics has always been affected by casteism.^[21] So the SCs also supported the party in which their State central level leaders were dominating. during the Chand Ram (1970)'s period

In recent years coming up of Bahujan Samaj Party (B.S.P.) on the national horizon has not made a significant impact on the SCs of Haryana. There is a division among them on sub-caste lines. These divisions have got strengthened with the division of reservation by the State Government into group 'A' and group 'B'. The group 'B' is constituted by Chamars and the group 'A' by all the non-Chamar SCs.

Earlier it has also been mentioned that political parties didn't directly participate at the GP level elections held in December 1994, but political parties involving in state and central politics don't remain away from local politics. To know the SC voters membership of different parties, they were asked the questionn "Are you a member of any political party?" The responses are reflected in the table no. 4.13.

21. Op. cit,

Table 4.13-Membership of the Political Parties Among Voters

Membership of Political party	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	13	13
No	87	87

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that out of 100 respondents only 13 (13%) persons are the members of political parties, whereas majority of them are not members of any political party. It reveals that political parties aren't functioning properly at the village level and their mobilisation of the SCs, in the active political process has not taken place. Most of the people in the villages have no party affiliation and remain uncommitted to any party ideology. It also strengthened the caste-based voting behaviour of the individuals.

Involement of Political Parties in PRIs

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1994 has left it to the State Governments, whether the political parties are to be allowed to jump in to the Panchayati Raj elections. The Haryana Panchayati Raj Act 1994, has made provisions to enter the political parties into local elections in PS and ZP level, not at the GP level. The arguement behind it could be that "ever insecure candidates from SCs, STs (not in Haryana) and the women who consider themselves to be above and away from parties, the non-party basis" could be "a more peaceful, less voilent and less

expensive in polls" [22] And parties entering into the fray would have definitely made it more expensive as in the elections to PS and ZP in Haryana. [23] The centralised party apparatus dilutes, to some extent the self - governance by the local people. Whether the SC voters in the three villages want the parties to contest the GP elections a question was put before them "Do you think that involvement of political parties in the GP elections is must? If yes, why? The responses were as follow.

Table 4.14 - Voters Perceptions Regarding Involvement of Political Parties in the GP elections

Variables	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	5	5
No	90	90
No Opinion	5	5

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that out of 100 respondents 90 (90%) SC voters are against the involvement of political parties in the GP elections. Only 5 (5%) respondents approved the political parties involvenemt. The reason for it, they told was that the political parties will help the socialisation of people in the politics, 5 (5%) respondents were unable to give any response to the question.

Support to Political Parties

Although the respondents were against the involmment

22. Susheela Kaushik, Panchayati Raj in Action

Challenges To Women's Role,

Friedrich Ebert Stifting; New Delhi 1995,

P. 40

23. Ibid.

of political parties at the GP level, they knew the names of political parties, and also about the ideologies of political parties in the sense --- which political parties support their issues and which don't. When the survey was conducted, the elections to the State legislature and the Parliament were due. To assess their opinions towards forming the government at these levels, a question "which political party should form the government?" was asked.

Table 4.15 - Support to Political Parties

Parties	Respondents	Percentage
Congress	49	49
B.S.P.	31	31
H.V.P.	1	1
Other's	2	2
No Opinion	17	17

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table indicates that out of 100 respondents, most of them support two political parties, Congress and B.S.P. In the opinion of 49 (49%) respondents, Congress should form the government with 31 (31%) supporting B.S.P. In the formation of government. Only 1 person who was a leader of H.V.P. has the opinion for its formation of government. Thus the SC voters of three villages don't support the present government formed by H.V.P.+B.J.P. combine. The data also shows that 17 (17%) respondents don't have any opinion regarding which party should form the government.

Factional Politics

Factionalism is one of the important features in politics. The factional politics takes roots at the village

level in the Panchayat elections."The term faction is commonly used to designate any constituent group of a larger unit which works for the advancement of particular persons and policies. The faction arises in the struggle for power and represents a division on details of application and not on principles." [24] Referring to the factions in Indian society Y. Singh says that "a faction may be defined as a group of households within a caste or sub-caste rallying together for rites, rituals, ceremonies, community activities, and who stand together in relation of social conflict, co-operation and neutrality". [25] A faction is short-living phenomenon lasting as long as the immediate goals of the members remain unachieved. The factions in the rural politics of Haryana are primarily based on caste, sub-caste, gotra, family and sometimes on party affiliations. Factions are "non-traditional organisations which operate on the political and social issues. This is interest-oriented group and therefore, there is a continuous change in its leadership and followers. The chances of formation and acceleration of faction increase due to introduction of new opportunities in the villages." [26] It is a well known fact that before the introduction of Haryana Panchayati Raj Act 1994, there was a lack of leadership among the SCs in the village Panchayats. The co-option and

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24. Lasswell H.D., 'Faction' Encyclopedia of Social Sciences New York The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931
25. Y. Singh, "Group Status of Faction in Rural Community" Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.V No. 1, 1959, P. 61
26. J.S. Yadav, "Factionalism in Haryana Village" American Anthropologist Vol. 70 No.5; 1968 P. 909

reservation of seats was not being implemented properly. The reservation of seats in the GPs has generated factional fight among various sub-castes within the SCs. And the SCs have got divided on sub-caste, gotra and family lines. The contest of election by many members for acquiring the 'ward' membership or village Sarpanchship have politicalised the SCs on factional lines. To test whether the factionalism played any role in the Panchayat elections, the villagers were asked "How did you vote on the basis of sub-caste, gotra or family?" The responses were as shown in the table No. 4.16.

Table 4.16 - Voting And Factions in the Elections

Basis of Voting	Respondent	Percentage
Sub-cast	64	64
Gotra	18	18
Family	12	12
No Oponion	6	6

Souce : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table shows that most of the SC voters voted on the basis of sub-caste of the candidates, their number was 64 (64%), the second consideration of voters was the gotra of the candidate which influened 18 (18%) respondents and lastly the family of the contestants, influenced 12 (12%) respondents. Thus sub-caste considerations in the voting behaviour played an important role.

SC Voters' Perception of GPs as Institutions

Democratic polity makes human society to move upward socially and economically through the established institututions and organitions. Indian socity comprises of different segments which put forward their demands before

the ruling elites. The polity brings in change in the life-style, behaviour and attitude of the people of different sections. Javed Alam argues that "in the social and political mobilisation of the people by the political and social organisations for the political task, human collectivities have been slowly getting aware of the functioning of political system."^[27] The people who have the awareness about the functioning of the polity are able to pressurise the government to fulfill their demands and ameliorate their grievances. Lane ^[28] has also classified political behaviour into six categories, among those one is electoral and public opinion.

One of the major objectives of our study is to enquire the perceptions of the people regarding the structure and functioning of the GPs. To test the awareness of the SC voters about the Panchayats, one has to analyse the opinions of the electorate and examine the perspective, in which they look at the GPs. It is also to be examined whether the voters only vote or they also know the responsibilities of the panches and sarpanches. The GPs have been bestowed upon special powers in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992. The administration has been made more accountable and the representatives of the rural people have been provided with

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27. Javed Alam, "Political Articulation of Mass Consciousness in Present Day India" in (ed) Zoya Hasan, S.N.Jha And Rasheeduddin Khan", The State, Political Process and Identity : Reflections in Modern India, Sage Publications, New Delhi 1989, P.P. 237-255
28. R.E.Lane, "Political Science and Psychology" in (ed) S.Koch, "Psychology : A Study of Science Investigation of Man as Socius", McGraw Hill, New York, 1963, P.P.583-638

a wide range of powers. The participatory democracy has been strengthened. In this regard the perception of the SC voters has been tested. Defining the perception in politics G. Palanithurai considers it to be "the function of socio-economic conditions of the people, political socialisation and political cultural"[29] The question put before the voters has been shown in the following table. The first question asked was, "Do you think Panchayat elections are necessary for village development? If yes, why?"

Table 4.17 - Need of GPs for Rural Development

Necessity of GP Election for Development	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	99	99
No	1	1

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table shows that 99 (99%) voters consider GP elections necessary for the development of the village. The reason behind was told in the similar modes of arguments by the respondents and it was the close proximity with the Panchayat actors and because of the inability of MLAs or MPs to visit each and every colony of each and every village.

Another aspect of the voters' perception towards GP elections was the interest taken by the Panchayat actors in the development of the village, thus it tested the villagers' attitude towards the panches/sarpanches and

29. G. Palanithurai, People Perception of Politics : An Indian Perspective, Kanishka Publishers & Distributers, Delhi 1995, P.22

their role in the development of the rural society. The belief of the constituents is mostly and pre-dominantly determined by the existing gap in the relationship between the constituents and legislators.^[30] The responses are shown in the table No. 4.18

Table 4.18 - Voters Perception Towards Leaders' Interest in Village Development

Panchya Actors taking interest in village Development	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	57	57
No	43	43

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table reveals that there is a marginal difference between the voters who have positive or negative opinion towards their leaders in the village development. Out of 100 respondents 57 (57%) persons view that GP leadership is functioning for the rural development whereas 43 (43%) voters don't approve the arguement that Panchayat leaders take interest in the development of the rural society.

The allocation of funds to the Panchayat leaders is done by the administrative machinery at the district and block level. The grievances of the villagers are taken to the officials by the Panchayat actors, as the common masses hasitate to speak to officials, thus the Panchayat leaders work as the mediators between the villagers and the

30. G. Palanithurai, "Legislative Institutions In India : Decline or Change" The Indian Journal of Political Science Vol. L1 : N3, July-September, 1990 PP.303-306

officials. To know whether the elected leaders of the SCs take their problems to the officials a question was asked, "Do your Panchayat representatives take your problems to the officials?"

Table 4.19 - Voters Problem And Leaders' Response

Problems taken to officials	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	34	34
No	66	66

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that the SC representatives have apathy towards taking the problems of their followers to the officials because 66 (66%) persons among the respondents answered in negative to the question. Only 34 (34%) respondents were able to convey their problems to the officials through their Panchayat leaders.

The coming up of the new Panchayati Raj Act has given rise to 'debate' and 'action' among the political scientists and various departments at the state and central government levels, respectively. Even the non-governmental organisations have been seen much bothered and concerned with the new legislations and working out strategies for effectively enforcing them. The voters at the village level are the most important incumbents for the successful working of the Panchayats. The changes have been imposed 'from the above', so the common masses knowledge regarding the new legislations becomes imperative. And in this regard the respondents were asked to respond to the question, "Do you find any difference between the past

and present form of PR elections?"

Table 4.20 - Voters Knowledge about the Difference between Past and Present Panchayati Raj System

Difference between Past & Present PR	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	100	100
No	0	0

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table reflects that 100 (100%) respondents know that there has come a breakthrough between the past and present PR system, it shows that the government was able to pass the information regarding the new PR legislations in one or the other sense of the term, when asked about those changes majority of the respondents talked about the reservation policy, demarcation of wards and women representation in the PRIs.

Further to know the perception towards the reservation and representation to women, another question was asked, "Do you support the reservation for women?" The responses are shown in the below table.

Table 4.21 - Voters' Perception Towards Women Reservation

Support to women Reservation	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	89	89
No	11	11

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above shown data in the table reveals that majority of the SC voters(89%) support the reservation policy for women representation and only 11 (11%) voters among them disapproved it. It shows that the society,

supposed to be male-dominated in the rural areas also have the recognition of women plight and feel the need for their representation in the PR bodies at the lowest level.

Doubts have always been raised that the SCs won't come forward to participate in the institutions of political system as has been raised over the issue of women reservation and their coming to contest the elections in the PRIs in the rural areas.^[31] The women among the SCs are supposed to be at the lowest rung of Indian society. Their literacy rate is also very low but their social conditions and economic conditions are not much dependent on their male counter-parts because of their working with manfolk in the fields. To examine, whether the SC voters have interest in contesting elections to PRIs, question was asked to them "would you contest Panchayat election in future?" They responded as shown in the following table 4.22

Table 4.22 - Voters' Perceptions Towards Contesting Panchayat Elections

Would you Contest Panchayat Election	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	49	49
No	51	51

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table shows that there is a marginal difference between those who want to contest (49%) Panchayat elections in future and those who don't want (51%). There

is a difference between having 'interest' and 'contesting' elections. If 49 (49%) respondents among whom 16 were women want to contest election in future, it means that Panchayati Raj has mobilised the SCs not only to participate but has activated a large majority to contest these elections.

SUMMING UP

The political participation of the SCs in the three villages of Haryana has been examined through their voting behaviour, political socialisation, role of sub-caste, political parties and perceptions of the people towards GPs' functioning. The interpretation of data reveals that the sub-caste feelings got strengthened during the GP election process. The political parties have not played vital role in the GP elections. The SC voters are apathetic towards participation of the political parties in the Panchayat elections. The mass media has come to play an important role in the political socialization of the SCs because 72% of the voters, either read Newspapers or listen Radio/watch T.V. Among them, a few are exposed to all of these agencies of communication. At the same time exposure to mass-media has not made significant impact on their participation at the GP or the GS level meetings.

The SC voters' perception towards Panchayati Raj is optimistic and they don't deny the role of Panchayats in the development of the rural society. At the same time they feel that their problems are not solved by the actors as they

don't take the villagers' problems to the officials.

After the changes introduced through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. 1992 , the people have come to know that changes have been introduced at the GP level. They know that Panchayati Raj has got some more powers to generate the feeling of participation among the masses.

The majority of the voters support the Women reservations in the GPs but they argue that bold and educated women should come forward to make this process, a success.

The study brings out four facts into light (1) sub-caste among SCs played an important role in the GP elections (2) political socialization through mass-media is gaining strength among the SC voters, (3) the SC voters have positive perceptions towards Panchayats and (4) there is a need, not only for politicization but also for secularization of politics at the grass-roots level.

The polarisation of the SCs on sub-castes lines during the GP elections is the clear-cut indication that their voting behaviour is influenced by this aspect. The SC voters voted in favour of their own sub-caste candidates. The sub-castes got polarised and the numerical strength of a sub-caste made the candidates to win the GP elections. It shows that in spite of developing socio-economic conditions, the SCs are influenced more by the primordial loyalties in the Panchayat elections.

Political socialization of SC voters through mass-media has gained strength because majority of them are exposed to

this agency of political socialization. They have the knowledge regarding the 'Identity Cards' and got the 'Identity Cards' to exercise their franchise and moreover they know the problems, the country is facing at present.

The functioning of Panchayati Raj is seen in a positive way by the SC voters. They understand that the developmental works could be done efficiently and effectively through the GPs in the villages. They aren't disenchanted with the structure of the Panchayats, but with the functioning. The women reservation is supported by the rural masses.

The politicization of Panchayats hasnot taken roots in the Haryana villages and particularly among the SCs. Although SCs vote and campaign in the GP elections very enthusiastically but they are indifferent towards the coming of the political parties in the GP elections. But with the politicization of masses, the primordial loyalties will discern and political parties have to act as a great instrument for the politicization of rural masses." [32]

One more observation needs to be emphasised here that with the politicization of masses through political parties, there is also a need for the secularization of politics at the grass-root level. But it is also suspicious whether the political parties based on communal and casteist outlook can work for the secularization of rural masses.

32. Prof. C.P. Bhambhari's statement

Quoted from Mats Kigberg, Panchayati Raj of India -- Debate In A Developing Society

Young Ashia Publications, New Delhi 1970,

P. 20

CHAPTER - V
EMERGING PATTERN OF
LEADERSHIP AMONG THE SCHEDULED
CASTES IN THE SELECTED VILLAGES

To attain the desired goals, individuals or group of individuals prepare a person to represent their interests in the society. The person who possesses qualities of being a representative of those followers is called a leader. The leader initiates change-oriented behaviour in the group of the people. Exercising influence on the followers has the direction of his/her personal qualities and power possessed by the leader. The leaders perform power exercising roles and have a considerable following. They occupy formal power positions, make decisions, get the official work done of the followers and prevent a decision to be implemented. The required social system is preserved, maintained and tried to transform by the leader according to the wishes of the followers.

Leadership, on the other hand, is a process in which the followers and the leaders of the group interact with each other in a given context. K.D. Ganagrade (1974) points out that the relationship between the leaders and the followers is one of the several forms of interpersonal relationships, which are formed to satisfy some of the defined needs of the leaders and the followers, belonging to the same social system. Thus the behaviour of one is generally influenced by the behaviour of the other, on the one hand, while behaviour of both is determined by the nature and structure of social system in which they interact.

With the introduction of Panchayati Raj the local political system has changed considerably in India. The rural people in general and their leaders in particular have become powerful because of the constitutional recognition to the PRIs. The leadership in Panchayati Raj cannot be studied in isolation, as it is dependent on the socio-economic context in which the leadership emerges. To attain leadership one has to garner the support of the majority of the community. Rural leadership in this context implies the election of the rural leaders in the three tiers of PRIs from the rural areas.

Traditionally the leadership in the villages had been confined to the rural elites belonging to higher castes, having linkage with the state political leaders and administration. The determining factor for the rural stratification system and rural power structure was land. The pressure of the dominant castes was always felt by the SCs. "The lower castes were habitual to obey the powers exercised by the powerful because of the traditional norms, and values of hierarchy. It wasn't feasible on the part of powerless to challenge or protest against the prevailing power structure at any occasion or in any way" [1]

Several studies conducted by the researchers have concluded that the traditional pattern of leadership

1. Chakraborty (K) Bhattacharya (S.K.) Leadership, Factions And Panchayati Raj Rawat Publications, Jaipur 1993 P.10

started declining in the late 50's. [Yogendra Singh (1958) Dube (1951), It was the period when the landowners of the villages started exercising power over the common villagers. Pointing towards the present leadership pattern Surat Singh & C.A. Rahim^[2] argue that now the economic power and the literate groups have started dominating the rural community. The landowners' kins who got educated in the cities started dominating in the rural power structure. A study conducted by M.Shiviah^[3] points out that "new leaders are relatively younger and better educated". The average age of the leaders at the grass-root level shows that the members elected to the Panchayats are young and energetic. The income pattern reveals that there is a gradual decline in the representation of rich people in the Panchayats. A study conducted by Hargian Singh in Haryana concludes that "factors like honesty, integrity, reputation and popularity help a good deal in the achievement of leadership positions. In villages, economic status, caste determinants and affiliation to the party in power are more important for the achievement of power position in rural areas." [4]

To provide leadership to the SCs alternative

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2. Surat Singh & C.A.Rahim, "Evolving Panchayati Raj Leadership" Journal of Rural Development Vol. 8 (4); P.420
 3. Ibid, P. 423
 4. Hargian Singh, Panchayati Raj Administration in Haryana Indian Publications Gurgaon, 1985 P.129

arrangements have been made in the form of co-option and reservation of seats for them in the Panchayati Raj bodies. The co-option pattern was used when there wasn't sufficient representation of the SCs in the Panchayats, so some of the prominent members of the community were taken into the rural political process. The state governments made arrangements for the reservation of seats in which a certain number of seats were reserved for the SCs.

It was hoped that because of these provisions, the SCs will get representation as well as bargaining power on the basis of their numerical strength, and through participation, they will be able to demand their due share. But the experiences revealed that in spite of co-option, it didn't work upto the expectations of the SC members. The observation made by Ashok Mehta Committee could be cited here "the system of co-option/nomination of SCs/STs has also been so manipulated that the nominated/co-opted members are generally allied to the dominant faction."^[5] Another independent study conducted by S.N.Mishra in one Panchayat in Bihar reported that so far as Panchayat leaders are concerned, the percentage of BCs and SCs was quite negligible. Only 5.2 percent of BCs and 11.0 percent of SC leaders represented the panchayats, though their population percentage in the Gram Panchayat was 37.9 and

5. Ashok Mehta Committee Report, Government of India
New Delhi, 1978, P.P. 79-80

61.21, respectively. [6] The observations made by the scholars and the government reports convinced the government to amend the provisions of Panchyati Raj with sufficient representation to the SCs as the leaders in the PRIs. It was done through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. 1992 where compulsory representation has been provided to the SCs in particular and weaker sections of the Indian society in general.

Provisions for the SCs Leadership

In order to give adequate representation to the SCs in the decision-making process, the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act contemplates that office of the chairperson at all levels shall be reserved in favour of the SCs in the states of Indian territory. Women belonging to the SCs have been given 1/3rd of the seats reserved for the SCs at every level. The number of seats are to be allotted by rotation to different Panchayats at each level, which are to be filled by direct election.

Socio-Economic Conditions of the SC leaders

Generally, it is believed that the SCs are very poor and don't have access to political power in the villages and they depend on Caste-Hindus for their development. In the process, they don't have independent thinking but their acts are motivated by dominant castes in the villages. Khan observes "The SCs had absolutely no access to 'power' in

6. Quoted by Surat Singh And C.A.Rahim, "Evolving Panchayati raj Leadership"

the past, not only because of absence of any of the factors which the Caste-Hindus had but also due to their low social status and economic dependence on the Caste-Hindus. Even the limited franchise that was made available to the people possessing educational and property qualifications, till recently was denied to SCs since they lacked these qualifications too". [7] The constitutional safeguards after the independence have benefited the SCs in one way or the other. The new social, political and economic order has emerged in Indian politics that has also changed the conditions of the SCs partially, if not absolutely. Discussing occupational mobility Y.Singh observes that growth of "non-caste occupations through urbanisation, industrialisation and bureaucratisation tend to thwart the former closure of political offices higher occupations, and social and cultural privileges to the lower castes." [8] It has been observed by sociologists that the benefits provided to the SCs are being utilised by some of the members of this community. Sachchidananda concludes that "as a result of various measures taken by the government in the direction of education and economic amelioration, a new elite, largely middle class, is emerging. It is this elite which is providing leadership for various groups." [9] To examine the

7. Mumtaj Ali Khan, Scheduled Castes and Their Status in India Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi 1980, P.172

8. Yogender Singh, "Caste and Class : Some Aspects of Continuity and Change" Sociological Bulletin Vol.7 No. 1; 1968 P.P. 178-79

9. Sachchidananda, The Harijan Elite : A Study of their Status, Network Mobility And Role in Social Transformation Thomson Press (India) Ltd. Faridabad; Haryana; 1977 P.10

pattern of leadership among the SCs because of their improved socio-economic conditions their knowledgeability and their attitudes as representative are the basic objectives of this chapter.

The socio-economic conditions of the leaders is the essential part for any meaningful understanding of the pattern of leadership. As a matter of fact Indian society is divided among different groups of castes, further these castes have sub-castes, and the economic conditions of the individuals and leaders of their castes also differ. The information was collected from thirteen panches and one Sarpanch regarding their socio-economic conditions.

1. Age :-

Age is an important factor of human beings. It is related with knowledge and experience of the person. A person gets involved in the political and social activities with the maturity of age. It is believed that old age people used to get elected in the traditional leadership of the rural society, but now it is changing. To examine the leadership pattern in terms of age, the information collected from 14 SC leaders has been shown in the following table.

Table No. 5.1 - Age Composition of the GP Leaders

Age	Respondents	Percentage
Up to 30 yrs	2	14.28
31-40	5	35.71
41-50	4	28.57
51-Above	3	21.43

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Reseacher

The above table shows that majority of the leaders 11

(92.86%) are in the age group of 50 years and among them, the maximum representation is to the age group of 31-40, that is 5 (35.71%). Only 3 (21.43%) SC leaders in the GPs are above 51 years in age.

2. Caste :-

Caste is a significant variable in Indian politics and it plays more important role in the village level politics. The caste Panchayats may have lost their significance but the modern Panchayati Raj is gaining strength. M.N. Srinivas argues that "in Independent India the provision of constitutional safeguards to SCs and STs has given a new lease of life to caste."^[10] The castes function not only against other castes but within castes also. The SC leaders' caste and their number in the three villages are shown in the table below.

Table 5.2 - Caste Composition of the Leaders

Caste	Respondents	Percentage
Chamar	5	35.71
Dhanak	5	35.71
Balmiki	3	21.43
Sansi	1	7.14

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table shows that majority of the leadership positions have been occupied by Chamars and Dhanaks equally, who have 5,5 selected leaders of their castes. And the Sarpanch of village Bal Ranghran also belongs to Dhanak caste. The lowest leadership is in the hands of Sansis, who

10. M.N. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India
Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1962, P.15

occupy only one panch seat.

3. Sex :-

The women constitute almost half of the humanity. The representation of women like many deprived sections has been denied in the political positions for centuries. Indian villages are considered male-dominated and in this respect the women reservation has disappointed some of the members of village community. "Women reserved 'wards' have been shifted according to the will of the ruling party"^[11] as observed by Susheela Kaushik. But their representation couldn't be denied and thus they got representation in the SC constituencies also. The following table shows the sex ratio of the SC leaders at the GP level.

Tabel No. 5.3 - Sex Composition of the Leaders

Sese	Respondents	Percentage
Male	9	64.28
Female	5	35.72

Source : Field-Data collected by the Researcher

The above mentioned data in the table shows that PR leadership at the GP level is dominated by male SC members. The females although been given 1/3rd of the membership in Panchayats, among them is an SC woman sarpanch also. It shows that women didn't contest from SC male reserved 'wards' in the three villages.

11. Susheela Kaushik, Panchayati Raj In Action
Challenges To Women's Role
Friedrich Ebert Stigting New Delhi 1995 P. 79

4. Education :-

Education opens the man's understanding towards the societal issues. The leader has to communicate his ideas after listening and understanding the problems of their respective communities. Education plays an important role in modern times, for the fulfilment of this purpose. An illiterate leader is not able to understand the complex issues of administration and the rural development. To know the educational position of the SC leaders a question was asked regarding their educational qualifications.

Table 5.4 - Educational Status of the Leaders

Education level	Respondent	Percentage
Illiterate	11	78.57
Primary/Middle	3	21.43
Higher	0	----

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that majority of SC leaders 11 (79%) at the GP level in the three villages are illiterates. The primary/middle level qualified leaders are only 3. And none of them is having higher educational status.

5. Occupation :-

Occupation is also an important factor that affects rural leadership. Agriculture being the major source of income in the rural areas, it had a role to be played by Jajmani system. The SCs were involved in the filthy occupations but now occupational mobility is taking place among them. To collect the information regarding their occupations one question was asked "What is your present occupation?."

Table 5.5 - Occupational Status of the Leaders

Occupation	Respondents	Percentage
Traditional/Agriculture Labourer	0	--
Labourer	9	64.28
Small Business	5	35.72

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above mentioned data reveals that none of the SC leaders is having traditional occupation. But majority of them 9 (64%) are labourers. And among them the women who just go to fetch fodder for cattles have also been included. If seen from this point of view the small business men, who have shops etc. in the villages dominate the rural leadership of the SCs.

6. Annual Income :-

The income of the individuals have an impact on their social status in the society. It is belived that now-a-days an 'elite' class is emerging among the SCs as leaders. To test this hypothesis, the information in the table No. 5.6 was collected.

Table 5.6 - Income Level of the Leaders

Income	Respondents	Percentage
Up to 5000 (Lower class)	0	--
5001 - 10,000 (Lower middle class)	4	28.57
10,001 - 15,000 (Middle class)	4	28.57
15,001 - 20,000 (Middle class)	3	21.43
20,001 and above (Upper middle class)	3	21.43

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table reflects that 20% of the voters (Shown in the

Socio-economic conditions of voters in the Table 3.3 of the Chapter 3) have no representation in the leadership. It shows that middle class is dominating the SC leadership in the three villages. The lower middle class (4) and upper middle class (3) have almost equal representation. The lowest annual income was 8000/- p.a and highest income recorded was 25000/- p.a. in this study. Here it must be pointed out that the women representatives income has been indentified with their family income.

7. Family Size :-

The number of family members is considered to be an important factor in the village level politics. The persons who have larger families always boast of their importance in numbers, because of the rural belief "larger the family, greater the significance." Whether the family size has any influence on the pattern of leadership of SCs, the information was collected and is being codified in the following table.

Table 5.7 - Family Size of the Leaders

Family Members	Respondents	Percentage
Up to 3	0	--
4 - 6	6	42.85
7 - 9	6	42.85
10 and above	2	14.28

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table shows that all the SC leaders have more than 3 members in their family. The majority of the leaders 12 (85%) leaders have their family members between 4 to 9 and 2 leaders have above 10 family members. Thus family size plays

an important role in acquiring the leadership. "And a leader having a numerical preponderance today also commands considerable power even though his class and caste positions may be fairly low". [12]

8. Assets in Possession :-

The assets possessed by the leaders function as the "Status symbols" in the village community. Haryana is a developing State and its villagers possess, those assets which are possessed by the urban elites. The possession of assets by the SCs is entirely different from that of dominant caste counterparts. To gather the information regarding assets in possession by the SC leaders, the following data was collected.

Table 5.8 - Assets Possessed by the Leaders

Assets	Respondents	Percentage
Radio	12 (out of 14)	85.71
Cycle	11 "	78.57
T.V.	8 "	57.14
Motor Cycle/Scooter	2 "	14.29
Telephone	1 "	7.14

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table shows that all the SC leaders have radio and Cycle in their possession and 8 (57.14%) have T.V. also whereas motor cycle is possessed by 2 (14.28%) and Telephone facilities has been taken by only 1 (7.14%) leader.

The data regarding the possession of assets by the SC leadership shows that most of them have status symbols with

12. Chakraborty (K) & Bhattacharya (S.K.), Leadership, Faction And Panchayati Raj

Rawat Publications, Jaipur 1993;

P. 110

them, which could be used as an influence over the common SC members.

SC Leaders Knowledge Regarding the GPs

The selection of the leaders by the common masses puts on the leaders the responsibilities which they have to take. The knowledge regarding the structure and functions of the GPs becomes imperative and compulsory for the leadership. The functioning of GPs' could be seen from different angles. "It could be extension of democracy and freedom or planned development or social revolution or effective and successful implementation of rural development programmes or strengthening the local self-government in the rural India."^[13] The major purpose of the present Panchayati Raj System in operation is to develop participatory habits among the villagers. The participation of the villagers in the rural development, organising them to work for themselves and consequently taking part in the Nation Building is one of the major objectives of PRIs. The leadership at the GP level is expected to function to transform the 'heterogeneous' rural social structure into 'homogeneous' rural social structure. It is imperative for this purpose the leadership at the GP level should be equipped with the knowledge and powers of the GP in particular and PRIs in general. In this way the objectives of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act,

13. G.D. Bhatt, Emerging Leadership Pattern in Rural India
M.D.Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1994 P.137

1992 could be materialised, properly, if the leadership is possessed with knowledge and awareness regarding the whole scheme of Panchayati Raj and make the Indian democratic system to function at the grass-roots level.

Knowledge About the Structure of the GP

In order to gain the information about the knowledge of the GPs, some questions were posed before the SC leaders. The first among them was, "How many tiers are there in the Panchayati Raj system" Answers are codified in the table below.

Table 5.9 - Leaders Knowledge about GP Structure

Variables (Tiers)	Respondents	Percentage
1	1	7.14
2	2	14.28
3	11	78.57

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above mentioned data in the table shows that all the SC leaders in the three GPs were ^{not} able to tell ^{even} regarding the number of tiers in the PRIs. It shows that the SC leaders ^{don't} know the tier to which they belong.

Organisation of Gram Panchayats

The organisation of GPs has the elected members of the 'wards' in the village. The composition of this body of Panchayati Raj is marked by sarpanch, up-sarpanch and panches of the GP. To assess the knowledge of the organisation of GPs a question was asked, "What is the organisation of GP in your village ?"

Table 5.10 - Leaders Knowledge about GP Organisation

Organisation of GPs	Respondents	Percentage
Sarpanch	14	100
Up-Sarpanch	14	100
Panches	14	100

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The table reveals that regarding the organisation of GPs, the SC leaders have full knowledge. All of them know that there is a sarpanch and panches in the G.P.

Tenure of GPs

The specific period for which an institution is formed has its importance. The tenure of the GPs in Haryana has been fixed for 4 years. The leadership has to learn to implement the programmes within this span of time. They have to perform their duties according to the desires of the legal provisions and in accordance with the interest of the villagers. So, a question was asked to the SC leaders, "For how many years you have been elected to GPs?"

Table 5.11 - Leaders Knowledge about GPs Tenure

Period (Years)	Respondents	Percentage
1	0	--
2	0	--
3	0	--
4	12	85.71
5	2	14.28

Source : Field-Data collected by the Researcher

The table shows that out of 14 SC leaders, 10 (85.71%) persons know the tenure of the GPs. And 2 (14.28%) persons don't know the exact period for which they have been elected to the Panchayati Raj body. It shows that the two leaders

even don't have the knowledge regarding GP tenure.

Powers & Functions of the GPs

Although GPs were in existence earlier also but after the enactment of new PR act the GPs have got a new lease of life in the powers and new type of functions bestowed upon them. Dr. Amita Singh commenting on the GPs' powers observes, "the alienated village Panchayats have finally got a chance to survive as self-reliant units of grass-roots democracy rather than living as victims of political manoeuvring and bureaucratic authority."^[14] The newly elected leaders in the villages have come to know that there have been changes and a breakthrough in the Panchayati Raj. But to assess the SC leaders views towards the GPs' powers, a question was asked "What are the major powers of GPs ?" The answers are being codified in the table No. 5.12.

Table 5.12 - Leaders Knowledge about Powers And Functions of GPs

Variables	Respondents	Percentage
Implementing Rural Development Programmes	(out of 14) 14	100.00
Imparting Justice	12	85.71
Social Change	2	14.28
Levy taxes	13	92.85

Source : Field Data Collected by the Researcher

Above table shows that all of the respondents consider implementing rural development programme is the power of the GPs and accordingly they have to function. Regarding imparting justice 12 (85.71%) respondents argued that of course it's the function of Panchayats and finally regarding

14. Amita Singh, "Panchayats-The New Regime" Kurukeshtra, April, 1995 p.19

social change only 2 (14.28) respondents know it to be the function of GPs. They have not understood, the way GPs have to bring social change. Majority of the respondents don't know even the concept of social change and its feasibility in the rural society.

: Attitude of SC Leaders As GP Representatives

Democracy is called to be the government of the people, for the people and by the people. Thus the role of the representatives, whom the people elect as their leaders in the 'legislatures' (GPs in our study) becomes important and crucial for the functioning of the respective system. The representatives may have inclination or apathy towards the functioning of the bodies for which, they got elected. The citizens' in representative democracy, participate in the process of planning and development only through their elected representatives. Thus the participation of the people in the planning process becomes identical with the participation of the representatives. "The successful working of the PRIs depends upon the sense of obligation and commitment to its ideology"^[15] on the part of the leaders. For this purpose to be served, the attitude of the GP actors of the SC communities needs to be examined in the three villages of Haryana.

Regarding the attitude of the GP leaders, an effort has been made to collect some general views of the Panchayat actors as the representatives of the SCs. The emphasis here

15. Arjun Rao Y. Darshankar, Leadership in Panchayati Raj
Punchseel Prakashan, Jaipur 1979, P. 165

has been given to their role in the GP in policy formulation and implementation as development initiators; the politics in the Panchayats and outside the Panchayats with their attitudes and roles.

Developmental Schemes And the Panchayat Leaders

Rural development has been the focus of political decision-makers of India since independence. The plans formulated under rural development were aimed at eradication of poverty, reducing disparities between the rural and urban sector and within rural sector bringing rural poors to the level of average standard maintained in the rural society. Earlier rural development was taken as synonym with agricultural development, "but the idea of Integrated Rural Development is the result of our experienes gained through various programmes designed for rural development" [16] The special reservation, has been provided in various rural developmental schemes, for the SCs. An attempt was made to examine the role of the SC leaders in GPs in the formulation and implementation of plans. Their responses are shown in the following table.

Table 5.13 - Leaders Ability in Formulating Policies

Ability of SC leaders in formulating DRDA/JRY	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	5	35.72
No	9	64.98

Source : Field-Data collected by the Researcher

16. Ashok Kumar, Rural Development In India :
Dimensions of its Planning
Inter India Publications New Delhi 1990;

The table points out that out of 14 respondents, only 5 (35.72%) respondents feel that they have the role in formulating the policies like DRDA or JRY. Whereas majority of them 9 (64.28%) do not feel that they have any role in the formulation of policies. The SC representatives lack the interest in the deliberations of the GP and don't have the courage to intervene in the decisions of the dominant castes.

Another related question was asked, "Do you have a say in implementing developmental schemes?" The respondents responded as shown in the table

Table 5.14-Leaders Role in Implementing Developmental Schemes

Role in implementing developmental schemes	Responses	Percentage
Yes	8	57.14
No	6	42.85

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The 8 (57.14%) respondents out of 14 accept that they have some role in implementing the developmental schemes in the rural development, whereas 6 (42.85%) are of the opinion which reveals their neutral role in the implementation of such schemes. The responses of the women leaders was in a more negative way than the men because women don't participate in the discussions over the implementation programmes because of the social processes under which they function. The female SC leaders are accompanied by their husbands and they represent the ideas of their wives.

Politics And Panchayat Leaders

The role of the dominant castes and the factions cannot

be denied in the politics at the grass-roots level. The SCs being dependent on dominant castes have to abide by their desires. The land reforms havenot been implemented in the State of Haryana, [17] as a result of it the SCs are not socially independent and economically efficient to ignore the wishes of the landholders. After the new Panchayati Raj Act, independence of SCs has been ensured by giving them representative seats. To test, whether the SCs leaders' candidature and victory is decided by dominant castes, a question was asked to them, "Do the dominant castes play role in deciding the candidature of the SC candidates?"

Table 5.15 - Perception of Leaders Regarding Role of Dominant Castes in Deciding Their Candidature

Role of Dominant Castes in deciding Candidature	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	0	--
No	14	100

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that only 1 (7.14%) out of 14 leaders accept that the candidature of the SC contestants is decided by the dominant castes and this was the Sarpanch of **Bal Ranghran** village, who accepted the influence of dominant castes in deciding their candidature. The 13 (92.86%) respondents who were the panches revealed that the dominant castes have not any role in deciding their candidature. Here it is to be mentioned that the 'wards' reserved for the SCs

17. Mahi Pal, "Panchayati Raj Ki Safalta Ki Kunji : Bhumi Sudhar" (Key to success of Panchayati Raj : Land Reforms) Kurukshetra, Oct. 1995 (Hindi Edition) P.P. 57-66

are not having the dominant caste population, so they cannot have, directly, any role in deciding the candidature of the SC panches, whereas for sarpanch all the castes vote, so the dominant castes play role in deciding the candidature of SCs.

Another question was put before the SC Panchayat leaders, "Whether the dominant castes play any role in making you win in the GP election?"

Table 5.16 - Leaders Perceptions about Dominant Castes in Deciding Their Victory / Defeat.

Dominant Caste deciding factor in warning	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	1	1
No	13	13

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

Again the answers of the respondents were according to the Table No. 5.15

Attitude towards Voters' Voting Behaviour

The attitude towards the electorate of the leadership is one of the important aspects of Panchayat politics. Factions are the reality of political system, it is not true that "factions were created by the Panchayati Raj institutions"^[18] The election of representatives by the SC voters in rural India is also affected by factionalism. The factions in Haryana are having specific nature. The SC leaders were asked a question regarding the deciding factor

18. G.Rama Reddy And K.Sheshadri, The Voter and Panchayati Raj National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad; 1972, P. 72

in the voting behaviours of the SC voters. The responses are as shown in the table.

Table 5.17 - Leaders Attitude Towards SC Voters Voting Behaviour

Variables	Respondents	Percentage
Personality	14	100.00
Sub-Caste	10	71.42
Gotra	5	35.71
Family Status	13	92.85

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above mentioned data in the table reveals that the SC leaders consider, most determining factor in the election is the personality of the candidate, the second consideration is the family status 13 (92.85%) and third important factor is the caste accepted by 10 (71.42%) respondents, whereas, Gotra, according to only 5 (35.71%) respondents plays an important role in the voting behaviour of the SC voters.

Attitude towards Lok Sabha And State Assembly Elections

Although the representatives of Panchayats are supposed to be free from the politics of political parties, but the desire of a politician at the lower level makes him/her to go up in the ladder of leadership. Their role at the village level in deciding the victory of MLAs or MPs cannot be denied. To know the participatory attitude and activeness of the SC leaders, a question was posed, "Will you campaign for coming Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections ?"

**Table 5.18 - Leaders Attitude Towards Lok Sabha
And State Assembly Elections**

Compaign for L.S.& S.A. elections	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	8	57.14
No	6	42.86

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table shows that out of 14 respondents 8 (57.14%) leaders have the desire to compaign in Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections. At the same time 6 (42.86%) respondents don't want to compaign for these elections. The fact should be revealed that among these 6 respondents 5 (35.71%) are women leaders.

In response to the above question a related aspect of legislative elections was asked to the Panchayat leaders, "for which political party do you want to compaign in the coming elections ?"

Table 5.19 - Party Preferences of the Leaders

Choice of Political Party	Respondents	Percentage
Congress	2	14.28
B.S.P.	1	7.14
H.V.P.	1	7.14
S.P.	--	--
No opinion	10	71.42

Source : Field-Data Collected by the Researcher

The above table exemplifies that out of 14 respondents, in fact 4 (28.57%) don't want to reveal the political party for which, they want to compaign (because 6 denied to compaign for any political party) Those who revealed majority of them 2 (14.28%) respondents want to compaign for

Congress Party and 1, 1 each for B.S.P. and H.V.P. It shows that majority of the SC leadership is still with Congress Party.

SUMMING UP

The different aspects of emerging pattern of the SC leadership at the GP level have been examined in the light of the information gathered and field data collected for this purpose. Here an attempt has been made to analyse the pattern of the SC leadership at the GP level in the three villages.

The socio-economic conditions show that the majority of leaders belong to the age group between 31-50 years, where out of 14 leaders, 11 leaders (64.28%) are from this age group. It shows that middle age group is dominating the leadership at the GP level in the three villages. It is clear indication of the shift in the traditional pattern of leadership in rural areas. Thus the rural masses prefer the active and dynamic leadership in the GPs.

The maximum percentage of leaders (71.42%) belong to 2 major communities Chamars and Dhanaks. The numerical strength of these two communities within SCs has helped in gaining the leadership offices. There is a co-relation between leadership and numerical strength of various sub-castes in the population. Sub-caste is a decisive factor of rural SC leadership at the GP level.

The sex-ratio reveals that female leadership has emerged in the GPs and occupies positions according to the reservation policy but they didn't contest in the male

reserved 'wards'.

The education status of the leadership shows that majority (78.57%) of them are illiterates and (21.43%) have studied only upto middle level. No one among the leaders has higher qualification. Thus the power structure at GP level hasn't attracted the educated villagers.

On the occupations adopted by the leaders, the investigations reveal that all the SC leaders have left their traditional occupations but majority of them (64.28%) are still labours working either in the factories or doing some other works. And the rest of the leaders (35.72%) are small businessman having shops in the village, working as small contractors etc. Thus the SC villagers prefer the leaders, who have left their traditional occupations.

The annual income data of the GP leaders shows that all of them have income above Rs. 5000/- but if looked at the voters income (Table 3.3 in Chapter 3) there are 20% voters who have income below Rs. 5000/- it reflects that the leaders don't represent this class. The middle class and upper middle class are holding the leadership positions. Thus among SCs economic status has a great significance.

The number of family members of the GP leaders is more than 3 members and (85.60%) leaders have family members between 4 to 9.

It is found that those leaders, whose size of family is larger, dominate the leadership positions in the villages.

The assets possessed by the leaders reveal that majority of them have status symbols like radio, cycle, T.V.

while (14.28%) have two-wheelers and one member is also having telephone in his house. The assets in possession are the symbols through which the common voters get attracted and vote in favour of such candidates, who have maximum status symbols.

Regarding the knowledgeability of the SC leaders about the structure of the PRIs, majority of them know that there is three-tier system of Panchayati Raj in Haryana. About 85.71% of the sample leaders were aware of the tenure of the GPs but all of them knew regarding the organisation of GPs, the reason being the selection of up-sarpanch by all the panches in every village, who was to be amongst the panches. Regarding the posts of sarpanch and panch, they already knew. The basic powers and functions of the GP are known to all the leaders. The new Panchayati Raj System has 'social change' as one of the major objectives to be achieved but this objective is known to the minority of the leaders. It makes us to conclude that the provisions for powers and functions of the GPs' aren't known to the leaders that new Panchayati Raj System has bestowed upon them.

The attitudes of the GP leaders held in understanding the nature of changes that are taking place at the grass-roots level. What do the SC leaders feel regarding the formulation, implementation of policies ? What are their perceptions towards voting behaviour of the SCs ? And What do they think regarding State Assembly and Parliamentary elections ? are some of the objectives to be analysed.

The data shown in Table 5.13 makes us to conclude that

majority (64.28) of them don't think that they have say in the formulation of policies at the village level. On the other hand they don't think that dominant castes decide their candidature or victory in the elections, but one point has to be clarified that the Sarpanch of **Bal Ranghran** believes that their victory is assured by dominant castes, if not the candidature. Regarding the voting behaviour of the SC voters, the leaders believe that personality plays most important role followed by family status and sub-caste within the SCs. Here also **Gotra** doesn't play much role in the voting behaviour of the SCs. One of the important factors in the attitude of SC leaders is their perceptions towards Lok Sabha and Assembly elections. Majority of the leaders (57.14%) desire to campaign for candidates in these elections. Those who didn't have interest in campaigning comprised of female leaders. The party preferences of the leaders bring out the fact that majority of them don't reveal the party to which, they want to support. At the same time those who revealed their party preferences, majority of them wanted to campaign for Congress candidates.

The following conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the above analysis.

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act has brought in a change in the traditional power structure at the GP level and one can say that a SC leadership has emerged at the village level which will function for the development of the whole village and transform the traditional political structure.

The SC leaders are from middle class background, but majority of them are still illiterate, which points towards the indifference of educated SCs to capture power positions in the rural power structure. The occupational mobility has taken place among the SC leaders in the GPs and they possess symbols of status in the modern rural society. The leaders from those sub-castes got elected which were dominant and had large families. The SC leaders also possess the basic knowledge regarding the GP's structure and functions, but the 'social change' concept of the new Panchayati Raj Act is unknown to them. The formulation of policies is not having their say but in their implementation, they accept their role. The dominant castes have a say in the selection of sarpanches and not the panches. The SC leaders want to campaign for MLAs & MPs elections but don't reveal their party preferences.

Regarding the voting behaviour of SC voters, the leaders point out that the personality and sub-caste of the candidate matters a lot. The voters (Table 4.16 in Chapter 4) perceptions show that the sub-caste plays most important role in their preferences for candidates. This shows that sub-caste has come to play an important role in the selection of the SC leaders. The emerging pattern of leadership among the SCs shows that they belong to an 'elite' but their dependence on dominant castes cannot be ruled out for acquiring village Sarpanchship.

CHAPTER - VI
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL
CHANGE AND THE SCHEDULED CASTES IN
THE SELECTED VILLAGES

The focus of this chapter is on the social change among the SCs as a result of political participation in the three village of Haryana. The reservation of seats for SC males as well as females in the GPs, the developmental functions conferred upon the GPs and a special provision for social justice committee in the village are the basic mechanisms through which 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, is expected to bring about social change through the political participation of SCs. Here social change has been examined from economic, social and cultural points of view in the three villages of Haryana.

Change in human society has been taking place ever since the beginning of human life on the earth. Persons living in society change the existential realities and change in response brings transformations in human collectivities. The differences existing in human society are known by the term 'Social Stratification'. The mobility is the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society, positions which by general consent have been given special hierarchical values. [1]

The mobility in a society brings social change to the fore. Caste is the basic unit of Indian society and the relations between various castes are determined by the Varna

1. Sorokin (Pitrim A), Social And Cultural Mobility
(New York, Free Press, 1964) P.133

System approved by Hindu scriptures. But change being part and parcel of society, in Indian society also the new emerging forces like industrialization, democratization, social reforms through legislations or mass movement, etc bring social change with the "process of sanskritization" [2]

The pre-Independence period witnessed the mobilization of rural masses into the movement for the independence of India. The Independence brought in the constitution of India and consequently the constitution prepared the way for the equality of Indian masses irrespective of caste, creed, class, etc. The SCs also came into the mainstream of the nation. The adult franchise, equality before law, the representation of the deprived sections in the legislatures both at state and national level, opened the gates for political participation of the SCs. Although they were exposed to the political institutions and political processes, yet there was a lack of interest among them because of the age-old poverty and other factors. The poverty alleviation programmes were, therefore, drawn for their economic upliftment and social change. A need to strengthen Indian democracy at the grass-roots level was felt and therefore Panchayati Raj was introduced in India.

The Panchayats have been in existence since the

2. M.N.Srinivas, "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization" in Caste In Modern India and Other Essays, London, Asia Publishing House, 1962 P.42

ancient times. Man being a social animal cannot live in watertight compartment as 'community.' The process of civilization and division of labour have made people to interact with each other. The dependence of persons on each other makes them learn and accelerate the process of social change. The society being divided on caste lines, people accepted political means as vehicles of change. The active participation of persons has brought them from primitive conditions to the present position. The change in the socio-economic conditions of the people cannot come from below alone. It must also be effected from above, that is through legal provisions as well as political intervention which generate an awareness of rights and duties in the minds of people. The people's participation in the Panchayat politics may be seen from this perspective.

Involvement or participation in the political activities strengthens the overall system of a society, especially the political system. The political system functions within the social system. When people participate in political activities, the concepts of 'interest articulation' and 'interest aggregation' come into being. The masses at the lowest level can not have an effective co-relation with the political actors working at the national level. And since at local and regional levels, different communities have their distinct and specific interests, the Panchayati Raj system functioning at the grass-roots level is supposed to aggregate the articulated

interests of the individuals. Caste Panchayats have been performing the same function for their respective members but village being the combination of communities, an effective agency was needed to work for the whole village, and thus GPs came into being to perform these functions. Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994, also establishes the GP at the village level as the functioning body of Panchayati Raj.

"Haryanavi society is semi-feudal and semi-capitalist in nature" [3] The impact of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Christianity may be seen on the lives of people in their behaviour, but "Hinduism influences most of the facets of human society". [4]

The villages in Haryana have agrarian economy like any of the States in India. As whole of Indian rural society has impact of "modern technology, particularly modern systems of transportations and communications and industrialisation have given greater national cohesion to the land". [5]

The political participation of the SCs in the village politics has also brought in social changes in rural Haryana. In Chapter 3 we have discussed the socio-economic conditions of the SCs in the selected villages of Haryana. And in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the political participation of voters and the leaders has been explained. One can clearly observe the change taking place among the SCs of the

3. Ranbir Singh, "The Haryanavi Society : An Overview"
Kurukshetra University Reserch Journal
Vol. XIV, No. 12, 1982, P.65

4. Ibid

5. Y.Singh, Social Change in India Crises & Resilience
Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi, 1993, P.119

selected villeges. Y. Singh observes that "social change in India has been fastened by the constitution of India, where the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy play an important role". [6]

The Panchayati Raj system being based on Gandhian philosophy is the part of Indian Constitution but was not justifiable. Now the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. 1992 has provided special seats reserved for the deprived sections of the society. This is a part of social change in modern India. A type of 'civic revolution' has taken place in the area of electoral behaviour throughout the country as the election process has spread through village Panchayats in India.

In the three selected villages of Haryana the social change is taking place as a result of political participation by the SCs.

Social Change from Economic Point of View

The economic structure of the villages was based on landlord-landless labour relationships. These relationships were marked by the master-slave like relationships, where the dominant castes used to be masters and the SCs working in their fields were as slaves. The low level of income of the SCs made them depend on the landowners. But now the relationship has shifted from master-slave like relationship to dominant-dependant relationship. Although the SCs still work in the fields of dominant castes, now

6. Ibid.

they are not working as **Siris** in the fields. The majority of the SCs have also changed their traditional occupations. Thus the change in the agrarian structure has taken place and the occupational mobility is also observed among them. The poverty alleviation programmes implemented in the rural areas have benefited the SCs. The loans and funds being provided to them by the government are utilised to establish small businesses or for purchasing **buffaloes** etc. to increase the income of their families. The developmental programmes have made the SCs develop some aspects of their life which earlier could not be done by Community Development Programmes. As observed by Prof. C.P. Bhambhari. "The Community Development Programmes were launched in the fifties but they failed to respond to the felt needs of the rural population because rural bureaucracy was distanced from targeted social groups". [7]

The educated youth of these villages have got some government jobs in the state or central government offices or in the public sector. Those who didn't get job in the government offices have adopted industrial labour as their profession. The youths in the villages don't want to adopt their hereditary occupations. Those who have developed among the SCs don't allow their parents to go to fields or to adopt their traditional occupations. The economic change has started taking place because of the political

7. C.P. Bhambhari, Politics in India 1992-93
Shipra Publications, Delhi 1993

participation. The SC leaders in the GP are being socialised by the educated youths to leave their traditional profession and take loans from the district headquarters to adopt new occupations. Thus there is a major breakthrough in the 'impure' occupation because of several social legislations and other constitutional measures. Although Balmikis have not been able to do away with their traditional professions in greater number, there is a clear-cut shift from the impure to the pure occupations.

The food habits and living conditions of the SCs are changing because of the consciousness developing in the political field. The emerging pattern of leadership shows that the SCs are changing their occupations and life-styles. About half of the SC voters want to be leaders in the GPs (Table 4.23 in the chapter 4). So to get elected in power positions, a feeling is developing among common masses to abandon their traditional professions and become economically strong. Prof C.P. Bhambhari says that "the elected representatives in Panchyat organisations will be able to generate the spirit of participation among the rural population for economic development." [8]

Thus the political participation is functioning for the economic upliftment of the SCs and as an instrument of social change which could be seen through the changing pattern of occupations.

8. Ibid

Changes at the Social Level

The pollution-purity concept was one of the major reasons for the practice of untouchability in the villages. The changing conditions and the State intervention in abolishing the practice of untouchability have to an extent changed the perceptions of the people. Although untouchability has not disappeared in totality but in social interaction it is gradually zeroing away. Again because of the democratic set-up, the dominant castes go to the SC people's houses and vice-versa for the electoral co-operation. Now if the dominant castes practice untouchability, they are not accepted by the SCs as leaders. And in the new legislations of Panchayati Raj, a new leadership of the SCs is emerging. This is paving the way for social interaction among villagers of various castes. The functions of the panches and sarpanches make different castes interact with each other. Inter-caste interaction is gaining roots in the rural society.

The individual's achievements are considered supreme to community's achievements in these villages now. The political participation is although, based on the support of communities, yet the personality of the individuals matters a lot in the elections to the GPs. At the same time, solidarity among different castes is emerging at the grass-roots level. This solidarity is marked by the qualities of contesting candidates and their communities; if two or more communities among the SCs think a candidate to be more efficient than others, they support

the common candidate. Intra-caste factions may have emerged in the villages, but inter-caste interaction prevails because of the dependence on each other for political gains, adding in the process number of votes into a caste, and making it a cohesive group.

Now-a-days cleanliness has taken prominence over the caste pollution. The dominant castes visit the houses of the SCs and the SCs visit the houses of dominant castes. The education has spread more among the SCs than the dominant castes of the villages. The landholders visit the educated SC youths to fill up their agricultural loan forms etc. And thus the dependence of landholders on the educated SC youths is also functioning to bridge the gaps created by traditional social practices.

Although sometime back the SC houses were outside the common village population of other castes, now there is a change in the geographical locations of their houses. Now-a-days the SCs and other castes have started shifting to their **Badas** or **Ghers**^[9] which is making them socially and geographically neighbours. But here it must be pointed out that the male to male interaction among different castes has started, but it is restricted among females. The joint family system is breaking down to nuclear family system but at the time of Panchayat elections, the nuclear families get united and become again a type of joint family.

The reservation of seats for the SC women has also

9. Place for Cattles to take rest during the day-time

brought social change in the sense that the women are also being seen equally qualified to be members in the GPs. And the women panches have somewhat high status within the community. The women are getting enthusiastic towards holding the GP level positions. The Ghnghat custom is declining among the women leaders but they pay respect by veiling only when very elderly persons are around them. The consciousness to get educated is also gaining strength and women prefer to send their daughter-children to the schools, so that they won't face the problems in future like their mothers.

Changes at the Cultural Level

The little tradition, which is supposed to govern the social behaviour of the SCs is getting transformed because of 'Sanskritization' process and exposure to modern ideas and values. The authority of dominant castes is not considered to be eternal by the SCs now. The relationship based on superior-subordinate relationship between the castes is observed neither by the dominant castes nor by the SCs of the three villages. When a person from dominant caste comes in their Bagadd (colony), They don't stand from their seats as it was a practice earlier. But they talk to each other and the SC household asks them to take seat. The feeling to question every irrational practice is developing among them. The belief in God is strong among the villagers but the belief in supernatural powers is getting loosened.

The achievement orientation is getting strengthened over the ascribed orientation. Work is supposed to be prime than to rely on fate. People's belief in the **varna asarma dharma** has disappeared and occupational mobility is taking place, but it differs within the SCs. The Balmikis are inclined to their traditional occupation than the other sub-castes.

Thus through the exposure to the mass-media, the processes of modernisation, westernization and sanskritization are taking place among the SCs. The political participation has made the SCs to be more change-oriented in the three villages studied. The untouchability is almost extinguished in its prevalent form. The caste is not considered important in the social relations. The women's status is improving and the dominance-dependence relationships are loosening. It is true that an 'elite' class among the SCs has emerged in the villages, because it is more exposed to social change as a result of political participation. Although the women leaders are not having independence in their political behaviour but a change with in the society and family is taking place to recognist them as equal part ners. Thus as a result of political participation the dominance-dependence relationships between dominant and dependent castes as well as male and female among the SCs is being replaced by complementary relationships.

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Questionnaire

1. Name :-
2. Age :- 3. Male/ Female :-
4. Village :- 5. Caste :-
6. Size Of Family :-
7. Educational Qualification :-
 Illiterate Middle Higher

8. Traditional Occupation :-
9. Present Occupation :-
10. Do You Possess Land ? :- If Yes, how much ?

Political Awareness

1. Did you caste vote in the last Panchayat elections ?
2. Did you contest or want to contest in future ?
3. Whom did you vote for sarpanch and panch ?
 Won or got defeated ?
4. Did you campaign for any candidate ?
5. Are you a member of any Political Party ?
6. Did you vote according to your will or under the influence of
 family members ?
7. Do you read Newspaper/watch T.V./listen Radio ?
8. Do you think that political parties should participate in
 Panchayat elections ?
- If Yes, Why ?
9. Is the voting and campaigning caste-based ?

10. If any Scheduled caste person contests election, will you vote for him/her ?
11. Will you vote for any party's but your caste candidate
12. Which political party should form the government ?
13. Did you participate in Panchayat meetings ?
14. Have you got 'Identity card' ?
15. What do you think are the problems facing the country ?
 1.
 2.
 3.

Developmental Works And Impact

1. Do you think Panchayat elections are necessary for village development ?
If Yes, Why ?
2. Do you think that Panchayat members take interest in the development of the village ?
3. Do you think that the government programmes are implemented properly ?
4. Do your Panchayat leaders convey your problems to officials ?
5. What do you find difference between past and present elections ?
6. Do you support reservations for women ?

INTERVIEW

1. Age :- Sex :-
2. Caste :-
3. Educational Status :-
4. Occupational Status :-
5. Income Level :-
6. Family Size :-
7. Assets in Possession :- 1. 2.
3. 4.
8. What is the structure of GP ?
9. What is the organisation of GP ?
10. What is the tenure of GP ?
11. What are the powers and function of GP ?
12. Do you have say in formulating policy like DRDA/JRY ?
13. Do you have say in implementing developmental schemes ?
14. Do the dominant castes have role in deciding your
candidature ?
15. Do the dominant castes play role in deciding -
your victory/defeat ?
16. What is the consideration of voters in electing
representatives to the GP ?
1. 2.
3. 4.
17. Will you campaign for Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections
.....
18. For which political party will you campaign?